Daily Report

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Leaders in Vienna for 'Final Phase' of Talks

AU1003172694 Paris AFP in English 1713 GMT 10 Mar 94

[Text] Vienna, March 10 (AFP)—Talks on a proposed Moslem-Croat federation in Bosnia could be concluded here Friday [11 March] with leaders from both sides flying in to work out the final details, the head of the Croat delegation said Thursday.

Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic, in Vienna Thursday, is to participate Friday "for the final phase, if the talks end then," Bosnian justice minister Kasim Trnka said.

The head of the Croatian delegation, Zagreb's deputy foreign minister Ivo Sanader, said further discussions were needed on the "demarcation of the Croat and Moslem cantons" in the future federation.

The Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic might also participate in the talks Friday, Trnka said.

U.S. special envoy to the former Yugoslavia, Charles Redman, returned to Vienna, following trips to Belgrade, Zagreb and Sarajevo earlier this week in an unsuccessful effort to convince the Serbs to join the federation plan and end more than two years of bloodshed.

There was "still a lot of work to do" on the federation before negotations were completed, he said.

The talks are focusing on a U.S.-brokered federation plan signed last week in Washington. It calls for Bosnia's Moslem and Croats to join their territories under a loose federation that could eventually be linked with Croatia.

Thursday's session was focussing on the number and delineation of cantons in the future federation, according to a Bosnian official.

"There could be three Croat cantons and four Moslem cantons," he said.

The talks were also to cover the organisation of Bosnian and Croatian forces, until recently engaged in bitter fighting in central Bosnia, and the federation's political structures.

In Zagreb, the Croat news agency Hina said U.S. General John Galvin, the former head of allied forces in Europe, flew in from Sarajevo to the southern Croatian city of Split Thursday to prepare a meeting the following day between Bosnia's Moslem and Croat military leaders, Generals Rasim Delic and Ante Roso.

The Friday talks, expected to be also attended by U.S. General Larry Smith from NATO's Naples base, are to focus on the military aspects of the Vienna talks, including a joint command.

U.S. Commitment Urged

AU1103115594 Paris AFP in English 1144 GMT 10Mar 94

[Text] Vienna, March 11 (AFP)—Negotiations on forming a federation of Bosnian Moslems and Croats look set to stretch into next week, Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic said Friday after meeting with Austrian President Thomas Klestil.

"They will not end today," the premier said, adding that he expected to spend the whole of the weekend in Vienna. "I do not think we are in any hurry," he said. "We have to pay attention to each detail. It is serious work."

The US-sponsored talks were scheduled to work out the details of an agreement reached earlier this month in Washington to set up a Croat-Moslem federation in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The talks were complicated by a decision by Bosnian Croat leaders inside Bosnia on Wednesday to insist that the Moslem-Croat entity be formally linked in a confederation with neighbouring Croatia.

Silajdzic said he had talks scheduled for Friday evening with Croatia's Foreign Minister Mate Granic.

He said Serbs would be invited to take part in a joint effort to find a negotiated settlement to continued fighting between their forces and the Moslem-led Bosnian army, even though the Serbs have so far refused.

"Certain relations with the Serbs of Serbia and the Serbs of Bosnia will have to be discussed," he said.

Silajdzic noted that Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev had assured him during a meeting earlier this week in Moscow that Russia would do its best to bring the Serbs into a negotiated final solution.

There was a chance of reaching agreement in Vienna if there is "enough goodwill and if our friends, in particular the United States, maintain their current commitment," Silajdzic said.

Bosnian Leader on Russian, Serb Roles

AU1103131694 Vienna Oesterreich Eins Radio Network in German 1100 GMT 11 Mar 94

[Article by Alfred Schwarz on interview with Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic in Vienna on 11 March—recorded; Silajdzic's statements in English]

[Text] [Schwarz] What has not been accomplished by the three parties so far is now to be accomplished by two—finding a peace solution for Bosnia-Herzegovina. Since last week, Muslims and Croats have been together in Vienna to unite their two so-far hostile ethnic groups in one state. For this purpose, many issues must be clarified—the constitution, the division of the territory into cantons, and, not least, the problem of the overall

territory. And here, the circle closes with the so-far unsuccessful negotiations of all three ethnic groups—Muslims, Croats, and Serbs.

The Serbs are currently occupying about 70 percent of the Bosnian territory. A state of Muslims and Croats with only 30 percent of the territory seems to be impossible. Thus, the Serbs would have to give up territory that they have conquered. However, they are not part of the negotiations in Vienna.

This defect is also seen by Bosnian Prime Minister Silajdzic. Since the Serbs are not willing to participate in the negotiations in Vienna, one now has to discuss the possibility of a Muslim-Croat state.

[Silajdzic] They will be invited to join this common effort of the Bosniaks and the Croats. For the time being, their statements show that they are not willing to do that. In that case, we can talk about a possibility of creating a political entity with a status, of course, within the international body of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Schwarz] However, even if a Muslim-Croat state in Bosnia-Herzegovina is established without the Serbs, this will be a weak state. Therefore, a loose union with Croatia is envisaged. There are even voices from Zagreb that want to make this one of the basic preconditions for the negotiations in Vienna.

Prime Minister Silajdzic does not think anything of that. The new state will be a strong state, he says, and both Croatia and the new Muslim-Croat federation will be separate, sovereign, and independent states.

[Silajdzic] Well, of course, it will be even a stronger country. The two countries will retain their identity, their independence, their sovereignty.

[Schwarz] With consideration for the negotiations that are still underway, the Bosnian head of government was not able to say anything more specific about the planned Muslim-Croat state. However, there are continued efforts to include the Serbs in the planned solution in some way. Therefore, Silajdzic visited Serbia's protector, Russia, in Moscow yesterday. And he believes that Moscow will still play a positive role in the negotiations.

[Silajdzic] Yesterday, I came from Moscow, and Mr. Kozyrev assured me that Russia will do its best to play a constructive role in seeking the final negotiating settlement.

[Schwarz] One thing is clear in any case. The negotiations are now entering their decisive stage. This is also indicated by the fact that, this afternoon, Croatian Foreign Minister Granic will also come to the negotiations in Vienna. Nevertheless, Muslim Prime Minister Silajdzic does not expect a speedy conclusion. One is not in such a hurry, it will still take some time until peace will reign in Bosnia-Herzegovina, he said.

Observers Note Lack of Belgrade's Participation

AU1003200894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 10 Mar 94

[Excerpt] Under U.S. auspices, the Bosnian-Croatian transitional committee in Vienna is today working with the same intensity on the specification of details of the implementation of the preliminary Washington agreement. The entire constitution of the federation of the Croats and the Muslims, as a community of originally sovereign peoples in Bosnia-Herzegovina, has been more or less completed. In this way a foundation stone has been laid for the restoration of peace in the Balkans. However, this will also depend on the behavior of Karadzic's Serbs, who are supposed to return a third of the conquered Bosnian territories. The Russian influence on the Serbian side will be crucial in all this. For the time being, though, there have been no encouraging signals from Belgrade yet, the Austrian media and political observers assess.

The expert Croatian-Bosniak commission is supposed to continue preparations until 17 March—as requested by the Bosnian side because of Ramadan—on all the relevant documents for the final agreement.

Charles Redman, special envoy of U.S. President Bill Clinton, arrived in the U.S. Embassy in Vienna this afternoon to take part in the continuation of the Croatian-Bosniak talks. [passage omitted]

Human Rights Commission Criticizes FRY

LD0903221894 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2203 GMT 9 Mar 94

[Text] Geneva, March 9 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia (Serbia/Montenegro) [FRY—Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] was on Wednesday again unjustly accused of violating the human rights of ethnic Albanians in Serbia's southern province of Kosovo-Metohija.

The U.N. Human Rights Commission has adopted a special resolution alleging, in the absence of any valid explanation and evidence, that the Albanian minority in Kosovo-Metohija is being subjected to a brutal policy, summary arrests and even mass executions.

However, Yugoslav authorities deny the truth of this, insisting that there have never been any mass executions of ethnic Albanians in the province, and that only those ethnic Albanians have been arrested who have been actively involved in the movement to detach Kosovo-Metohija from Serbia and Yugoslavia.

In combating the separatist movement, Yugoslav authorities have acted in strict accordance with the law and have taken no action that would not have been taken by any other state in similar circumstances.

A strong separatist movement has been active in Kosovo-Metohija for decades, striving for the province's violent secession from Yugoslavia and annexation to neighbouring Albania.

The Russian representative to the U.N. Human Rights Commission moved that the resolution should not be put to the vote, explaining that individual positions included in the resolution had been incorporated, albeit in a milder form, in an already adopted omnibus resolution on former Yugoslavia.

The motion was supported by most Western countries, except Germany and some Nordic states, but the resolution was nevertheless voted in place, having been upheld by the Moslem countries which make up an overwhelming majority in the commission.

Most ethnic Albanians in Kosovo-Metohija are Moslems, and neighbouring Albania is a member of the Organization of the Islamic Conference.

EU Monitors Report Violation of Sanctions

AU0903175994 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 9 Mar 94

[Excerpts] At about 1300 today, representatives of the EU sanctions monitoring mission reported that the tug Khan Kubrat had sailed from Prahovo [in Serbia] for Vidin [Bulgarian Danube port]. They stressed that the report has not been confirmed, but the tug [words indistinct] the port of Prahovo. According to the mission's information, the cargo of fuel had not been discharged.

The owners of the vessel, Danube Coastal Lines [Dunavski pribrezhen flot] announced that the vessel's barges contained a cargo of over 5,000 tonnes of fuel, which had been loaded at the port of Samovit on 22 February. [indistinct passage]

According to the owners, all the members of the crew are well and expected to return to Bulgaria.

According to the latest information received by 1600 hours [1400 GMT] from the State Navigational Inspectorate in Vidin, the Khan Kubrat cargo tug had sailed from the Serbian port of Prahovo for Vidin. According to the report, the vessel is now expected to call at the port of Vidin, despite the fact that [words indistinct] had changed the direction of its course.

Security Council Responds

LD1103122694 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1128 GMT 11 Mar 94

[Text] New York, March 11 (TANJUG)—The U.N. Security Council on Thursday called on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to return to Bulgaria the convoy of barges, crew, and cargo (6,000 tonnes of oil are claimed to be in question) which arrived in the Serbian port of Prahovo on the Danube last weekend.

News agencies have reported that the Bulgarian barges were hijacked by armed men and forced to go to Prahovo.

The Security Council has prepared a statement in which it condemns what it calls an extremely dangerous act, but says that it is yet to be determined who was responsible for it. The council has, however, decided not to adopt the statement but instead to call on Yugoslavia to return the barges, crew and cargo.

In a letter to the Security Council and later in a meeting with council president Jean-Bernard Merimee, Yugoslav Ambassador to the U.N. Dragomir Djokic stressed that Yugoslavia did not know of any hijacking and that the convoy of barges had normally arrived in Prahovo and undergone a routine check there.

Djokic said that Bulgaria had informed Yugoslavia only after over 24 hours that the Han Kubrat tugboat had been hijacked and that Yugoslavia immediately took the necessary steps and opened an investigation.

Djokic said that there were not only 21 crew members on board the tugboat, but also seven passengers, of whom five with Bulgarian passports which were in order, while two passengers had to be detained because their papers were not in order.

Djokic has said that Merimee thanked the Yugoslav Government for the information it had provided so far and the assistance it had offered in the clearing up of the case, but set out that the Security Council expected Yugoslavia to return the barges, crew and cargo to Bulgaria by the beginning of next week.

Vance, Crvenkovski Discuss Greek Embargo

LD1003222394 Skopje Radio Macedonia Network in Macedonian 2100 GMT 10 Mar 94

[Excerpt] Stevo Crvenkovski, minister of foreign affairs of The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM], had lengthy talks in Geneva today with Cyrus Vance, the UN mediator in the FYROM-Greek dispute.

Minister Crvenkovski has made a special statement for Skopje Radio from Geneva saying that Vance has been informed about all the aspects of problems created in the wake of the imposition of the Greek embargo, and that there was still a great deal to be discussed. The FYROM side stresses that it was difficult to conduct a dialogue under the pressure of the blockade and that it was necessary first to lift the embargo before the dialogue with Greece could be resumed. [passage omitted]

Vance, Papoulias Meet in Geneva

NC1003172594 Athens Elliniki Radhiofonia Radio Network in Greek 1600 GMT 10 Mar 94

[Text] Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias met with UN mediator Cyrus Vance at 1400 today in Geneva and

discussed the Skopje [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] issue. Mr. Papoulias presented to the international mediator the Greek proposals on the flag and constitution of Skopje and explained the reasons why the Greek Government decided to impose the trade embargo on this statelet.

According to reports from Geneva, after his meeting with Karolos Papoulias within the framework of efforts to settle the Greece-Skopje dispute, Cyrus Vance will also meet with Skopjean Foreign Minister Stevo Crvenkovski. It has been learned from Cyrus Vance's circles that no meeting between the Greek and Skopjean foreign ministers has been scheduled.

Mr. Papoulias is expected in Belgrade this evening. He will meet with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic at 1100 tomorrow, and after their talks he will leave immediately for Moscow.

According to an ASSOCIATED PRESS dispatch received from Geneva a short time ago, UN envoy Cyrus Vance proposed to Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias some ideas to settle the dispute with Skopje, but the obstacles remain. Mr. Papoulias said that the trade embargo that Greece has imposed on the neighboring country will continue until an overall solution is found. The Greek foreign minister added that he will examine new proposals together with Mr. Vance when they meet again. Mr. Vance said that he hopes this new meeting will be held in two weeks. Mr. Papoulias said that in the meantime the Greek representatives will meet with Mr. Vance's aides as part of the efforts to solve the problem. After his two-hour talks with Mr. Papoulias, Mr. Vance told reporters that there is room for more negotiations.

Klaus Signs Partnership for Peace Agreement

LD1003173494 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1600 GMT 10 Mar 94

[Article by special correspondent Miroslav Konvalina]

[Excerpts] Brussels—Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus is at this very moment signing the Partnership for Peace project, which offers postcommunist countries cooperation in security and political issues. The Czech Republic has become the 11th country to join the project. [passage omitted]

Klaus said in his speech that the Czech Republic regards the Partnership for Peace as a brave initiative that means a new stage in our relations with NATO, the military and political organization of 16 countries that we are striving to join.

As far as our admission into the European Union is concerned, Klaus was, in his own words, very optimistic following his talks with the EU Commission President Jacques Delors, in particular when he said that the end or the turn of the century was too late for us as a date for our admission as a fully fledged member. The Czech prime minister shocked the Hungarians and the Poles, in particular, with this statement. They are expecting to be admitted to the alliance at the turn of the century.

Neither Delors nor Klaus regard it as decisive when a country submits an application for full membership in the Twelve. What is more important is when they meet the specific qualitative criteria for membership set by the Maastricht Treaty. [passage omitted]

Poland To Abstain From Human Rights Vote

LD1003193094 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1800 GMT 10 Mar 94

[Text] The Ministry of Foreign Affairs [MSZ] has instructed the Polish delegate of the UN Human Rights Commission to abstain from voting on the resolution condemning transgressions of human and civil rights in China. Sladyslaw Klaczynski, the director of the MSZ press department, explained that Poland did not condemn the transgression of human rights in China since it is difficult to conscientiously judge the situation by virtue of the distance between our countries. Director Jan Woroniecki of the UN department [of the MSZ] informed us that the MSZ had instructed the Human Rights Commission's Polish delegate to abstain from voting after consultations with the government.

In turn, Justice Minister Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz stated that the stance of the MSZ on this matter is not the stance of the government, but merely an internal instruction of the MSZ, one with which he is not familiar. The Democratic Union and the Liberal Democratic Congress have expressed indignation on account of the nongranting by Poland of support for the UN resolution on the transgression of human rights in China. Union of Labor Deputy Aleksander Malachowski said that this decision is an example of the victory of trade and economic interests over a feeling of responsibility for adherence to elementary civil rights.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the special delegate of the UN Human Rights Commission in the former Yugoslavia, said that the sacrifice of higher criteria, as he termed the protection of human rights, for other political criteria threatens the state with a loss of respect in the world. On the other hand, in the view of Krzysztof Krol of the Confederation for Independent Poland, the decision of the Polish Government on the issue of the voting was correct and witnesses to the independence of Polish foreign policy.

President, NATO Official on Affiliation

AU1003103294 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 9 Mar 94

[Text] President Sali Berisha this afternoon received Loic Bouvard, president of the North Atlantic Assembly, and Peter Corterier, secretary general of the alliance.

I would first like to express my deep gratitude for the contribution made to Albania's associate membership in the North Atlantic Assembly through an accelerated process, President Berisha said. I also have the pleasure of ascertaining that this visit of yours came after Albania clearly and finally demonstrated its Western pertinence. During the days of the ultimatum, Albania offered the alliance its ports and airports. We did so, first of all, to respect our Western roots, but to also defend those prominent values and principles that the North Atlantic Alliance has decided to defend in Bosnia.

We also signed the Partnership for Peace plan with pleasure because we consider it an active and dynamic process in Albania's full and dignified membership in the pact. We hail the achievements that are being observed toward a solution to the extremely complicated crisis in Bosnia, Berisha continued. However, we observe with concern that this facilitation in the north is also accompanied by an increase in tension toward the south.

There is an undeniable escalation of violence and terror in Kosova today. Out of revenge for the defeats suffered in the north, Milosevic is closing the last remaining legal institutions in Kosova one after another, such as the recent closure of the Albanological Institute and the harassment of its Albanian scientists. This is being carried out in full conformity with the memorandum of the Academy of Serbia, which anticipates the extermination and ethnic cleansing of the non-Slavic peoples in the territories included in Greater Serbia. We welcome and support the contribution made by the European Union, the United States, and Russia in resolving the Balkan crisis, but we ask for determination so that no one's presence can serve as an encouragement for the Serbs, who are the only aggressors, or serve their certain imperial aims. This would have had very serious consequences in the region's stability.

I am happy to be in Albania, Mr. Bouvard said, and I am very enthusiastic about Albania's associate membership through an accelerated process, because Albania has showed itself worthy of this membership. We applaud your achievements in the determined and difficult reform that you have undertaken in the army. We consider Albania a country that belongs to Western Europe and a country that is working for stability in the region. We are determined to contribute to its strengthening, because in this way we are contributing to stability in the region. We see every possibility of granting Albania full membership in the North Atlantic Alliance.

Committee Protests Seizure of Kosovar Institute

AU1003175694 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 10 Mar 94

[Text] The Albanian Helsinki Committee has addressed a protest to the Serbian Government, energetically reacting against the violent act of usurping the Albanological Institute in Prishtina. The protest states that this Serbian apartheid and segregation against the ethnic Albanians in former Yugoslavia is every day exterminating every kind of institution and legal structure of the spiritual and material world in Kosova. This is a manifestation of another form of ethnic cleansing, which the Belgrade authorities are practicing in Kosova.

The Albanian Helsinki Committee addresses all international institutions to stop, as soon as possible, these inhuman acts that incite and provoke the spread of war toward the south of Balkans at any cost. The committee feels that the European consciousness cannot stand indifferent when academies are closed in front of its eyes, cultural and academic institutions are locked, and art and culture representatives are beaten, maltreated, and imprisoned, thus challenging the European science and culture itself.

The Albanian Helsinki Committee expresses its conviction that the international public, as well as the recent approved resolutions accepting the CSCE Commission as observers against the violations of human rights of Albanians in former Yugoslavia, will exert their pressure to stop Serbi repression, apartheid, and segregation in Kosova.

Prime Minister Undergoes Heart Bypass Surgery

AU1103103094 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 11 Mar 94

[Text] Government spokesman Raycho Raykov is on the line. Good Day Mr. Raykov, we have heard that the prime minister is being operated on at the moment.

[Raykov] Yes, it appears your information is correct. This morning the medical team at the Lozenets Hospital of the Military-Medical Academy, where Prime Minister Berov is hospitalized, decided to perform a bypass operation. We expect the operation to end in about one hour. When the results of the operation become clear the Press Center will issue an official announcement.

[Announcer] We will expect your announcement.

Berov Outlines 1994 Economic Program

AU1003171794 Sofia PARI in Bulgarian 2 Mar 94 pp 1-2

["Statement by Prime Minister Lyuben Berov on Adoption of 1994 Budget," made in the National Assembly in Sofia on 1 March: "Accents in the Government's Activity"]

[Text] Albeit with considerable delay, the National Assembly has passed the 1994 Budget of the Republic of Bulgaria. For the government, the adoption of the budget in a certain sense signifies a vote of confidence in the policies it is following. However, this vote is also an occasion for considering certain problems and the main directions of the government's activity in 1994.

First, one should stress that the present government was elected by the National Assembly on 30 December 1992 on the basis of its declared program at the time, which in its principal directions remains in force even now, insofar as no party or parliamentary group in the majority coalition (after having been publicly invited to do so on two occasions in recent months) has so far declared that it wants any adjustment to the government program in terms of retracting or amending any of the main directions for the national economic and domestic policies that were formulated on 30 December 1992. In this connection I am bound to state firmly that several statements by certain of our opponents are completely groundless; these statements claim that the process of restoring land titles has stopped and is being blocked throughout the country; that certain basic restitution laws are about to be repealed; that preparations are being made to settle accounts with members and sympathizers of the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces], and so on. These are propaganda ploys. The government has never considered doing this, and will never allow such things to be done. They are wasting their time in trying to scare people with such bugbears as the possible restoration of the old nomenklatura to leading posts in state service and the enterprises, the restoration of the old labor cooperative farms, an alleged plot against private business, a realignment of foreign policy, and an assault against the judiciary.

Many criticisms can be leveled against the government, and it will accept them; nevertheless, the government is bound strictly to observe the laws and the democratic principles of the political system embodied in the Constitution—the principle of the separation of powers, preservation of human rights, and so on, based on which a democratic political and economic reform is being carried out in the country.

Against the background of the adopted 1994 budget and the continuation in force of the government program of 30 December 1992, I must state that during the coming spring months the government will concentrate its efforts in the following fields:

1. Improving the administration of state property and privatizing this property according to the law and the specific program approved by the National Assembly. This will be achieved by tightening the state's requirements relating to the existing supervisory boards of state companies by consistently applying Council of Ministers Decree No. 17 of 1994 and directly linking the remuneration of the board members with the financial and economic results achieved for each quarter by the enterprises under their supervision. A considerable number of privatization transactions have already been initiated. In 1994 it is planned to privatize 320 state enterprises, using the existing, mainly market methods of privatization. When the National Assembly completes the second reading of the mass privatization program (often referred to as the social privatization program), which has a schedule with a deadline of August this year, a further 507 enterprises will be privatized. These make up almost 40 percent of the total capital held by the existing state companies. All this will be one of the main prerequisites for a turnaround of the national economy and starting the economic revival.

2. The government is drafting a scheme of incentive measures for private business (which will not have a negative effect on the state budget and not involve any granting of public money either directly or indirectly.)

This scheme will include a package of measures to stimulate the domestic markets for a number of industrial and agricultural products, measures for encouraging exports, measures to provide low-cost credit facilities for small and medium-sized businesses through the relevant fund formed under the international programs that have been worked out, and so on. The measure will be directed more toward private businesses in the production sector, because so far those with private capital have mainly preferred to invest their money in trade and other forms of middleman activities, which does not help to increase the GDP. I have often stated publicly that the government has given and will continue to give a helping hand to representatives of private business who, while pursuing their normal desire for profit and

furthering their personal interests, commit themselves to sharing the fate of the people around them and help to achieve specific tasks of nationwide importance.

3. The government is working on additional measures in the field of social policy during the period of the structural reform. For example, additional compensation will be provided for consumers of thermal energy in the larger towns, in connection with the sharp rise in the cost of this service. Every quarter, pensions will be indexed in line with the expected consumer price index, not according to the index of the preceding quarter, and the state system for monitoring prices of essential goods will be extended in scope.

4. Now that the budget has been adopted, as of today a system of measures takes effect that is designed to free the country from its relative financial isolation that it has suffered until now. This will be achieved by resolving the problems regarding the necessary payments of settlement, with a view to finalizing the interim agreement on the foreign debt that has already been signed, increasing the inflow of foreign investments, providing state help for those wishing to enter new foreign markets, and so on.

5. One of the government's main tasks will be to restrict inflation further, bringing it down from the 64 percent experienced in 1993 to 40-45 percent or lower in 1994, which will be a step toward the financial stabilization of every Bulgarian family.

I consider that all the foregoing clearly outlines the directions of the government's activity in 1994. Some people continue to stake their bets on a confrontational, black against white conception of the political situation and the country's political future. Such a primitive use of a formula that is already outdated for Bulgaria does not lead to the development of a stable state policy during the period of transition. I think that, at the present political juncture and in the present difficult economic situation, a neutral, broadly based government of experts without any party bias is best able to preserve political and social equilibrium and lead the country to a brighter future.

Our government has demonstrated that it can work on a professional basis, and it will continue to work with all the political forces that have constructive attitudes and are able to suggest pragmatic solutions in the general national interest and for Bulgaria's prosperous future.

CSSD's Zeman Discusses Domestic Politics

AU1103092094 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 4 Mar 94 p 7

[Interview with Milos Zeman, chairman of the Czech Social Democratic Party, by Ivo Slavik and Marek Stonnis; place and date not given: "CSSD Wants To Be Vigorous Rather Than Obedient Opposition"]

[Text] [LIDOVE NOVINY] How should the policy of the Czech Social Democratic Party [CSSD] look? We ask because your personal political practice substantially differs not only from Polish social democracy and Weiss's Slovak Party of the Democratic Left, but also from the conduct of the CSSD Deputies' Club in parliament.

[Zeman] First of all, I start with the assumption that Czech social democracy has, as opposed to Poland or Slovakia, where it was not very strong between the wars, a certain tradition that must be respected but not blindly followed. There was a 40-year suspension here, while the West European social democracies progressed. We are approaching the Western political culture only very slowly, and sometimes the communist way of thinking prevails within us. [German Social Democratic Party (SPD) leader] Rudolf Scharping, for instance, in a televised discussion, described [German Chancellor] Helmut Kohl as an overgrown infant with cottage cheese on his brain, and the German voter takes it as something completely normal. If I used the same expression, I would be marked as a cryptocommunist, at least.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] After all, the SPD is shaped differently, and its supporters are not pining for communist "security." Moreover, the alternative you offer is very vague and rather confrontational toward the hitherto changes....

[Zeman] I do not believe it is vague. It is based on the idea of solidarity. There are three maxims in the West European concept: freedom, justice, and solidarity. Every political party, even those that do not really mean it, will tell you today that it advocates freedom. Solidarity is the idea that society should take care of the people who will reach the state of not only social, but also human need. The entire problem rests in the fact that solidarity cannot be just a passive protectionism. We must seek an active policy aimed at the creation of new jobs, the development of the education and health-care systems.... If you set yourself this goal, the question immediately emerges of how to finance it. No program can be complete without answering this question. The difference between social democracy and, say, the Civic Democratic Party [ODS] is quite obvious on this point.

Just as we do not say that ecology is only the icing on the cake, we do not claim that the market will solve everything. We want society to have a long-term concept. We need industrial policy, structural policy, exports-enhancing policy, transport, and energy policies. If the government economists occasionally tell us that they do not need it because the market will solve everything, we disagree because we know that it all exists in the advanced economies. We did not make it up.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Nonetheless, the need for a long-term positive perception was also expressed recently by a cofounder of the ODS, Miroslav Macek, in RUDE PRAVO. Likewise, in the right-wing parties, there are, if not trends, then individuals, who perceive certain things in a broader context. In comparison with them, your approach to politics does not belong to the most fortunate ones, particularly, as the public trust in the government is high, and social or economic tremors are not expected.

[Zeman] We certainly do not wish for any social or economic tremors. It is irrelevant, however, what we wish. What is and what is not a realistic possibility is important. Yes, the government has the trust of the majority at this time. Although, if you browse through public opinion surveys, you will see that the trust has declined over the past three months. Let us ask, however, whether we are to respond only to the problems that are topical at a given time or also to those that will emerge in the foreseeable future. We have practically no unemployment, or it is very low, but it is becoming a regional phenomenon. While the government economists interpret the low unemployment as something favorable, we claim that it is, in effect, overemployment caused by the stagnation of industry restructuring. At the same time, industrial production is dropping. Another question is linked to the creation of regional development programs—in Ostrava region, for instance. Phasing down programs are occasionally mentioned, but almost no one will say what substitute to offer for the original jobs. That is, if we disregard the various plans for reforestation, grassing over, etc., which are about as realistic as Baudys's plan for a peaceful settlement of the situation in Bosnia.

We simply lack a combination of the market and extra- or supra-market mechanisms. That is where I see a specific difference. I read the interview with Mr. Macek. His long-term vision is reminiscent of Khrushchev's Communist Party program: Already this very generation will live in communism. I am repelled by all political parties without exception, which claim that theirs is the only acceptable way. If they offer a bright future and shining tomorrows, I do not care whether the shining tomorrows are communist or market because, in both instances, it is just an illusion.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Nevertheless, people trust the ODS and Civic Democratic Alliance [ODA], and it is, above all, the young and the better educated who believe in them. Does it not prove something?

[Zeman] I believe that it is given by several factors. Of course, the declining social economic situation hit the pensioners the hardest.

I would say that a certain ebb will ensue. Of course, some young dissatisfied people are attracted by the republicans—precisely by their radicalism. They have simple, understandable answers. Social democracy does not know simple answers. It does not know slogans of the type "the market will solve everything."

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Certainly, but we are more interested in the reason for the small number of younger supporters of the CSSD....

[Zeman] Every generation must pass through political puberty. At the beginning of the 1950's, many intelligent young people trusted the communist ideology. Of course, we have not admitted it even to ourselves, and we pretend we were a nation that maintained an anticommunist resistance for 40 years. Well, and now, suddenly, because communism was of course abhorrent, it is only a natural reaction to say that the more the obvious opposite of communism is established, the better for us. I believe that Zhirinovskiy in Russia indicates to us that there is some nonlinear dependence. Extremes meet in a particular manner. The extreme left and the extreme right are often hard to distinguish.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Neither the ODS nor the ODA can be considered the extreme right. Moreover, the people have the opportunity today to compare the communist and the West European models of society according to their own experience.

[Zeman] The possibility of a comparison is not given by a trip to the West lasting several days. In a superficial, short-term view, you often realize the actual problems just as little as the Western tourists perceive ours. Anyway, that is not the issue.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Nevertheless, it was precisely the CSSD supporters, together with Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia [KSCM] supporters, who most frequently named [Association for the Republic-Republican Party of Czechoslovakia chairman] Miroslav Sladek in public opinion surveys as the second-most-acceptable alternative.

[Zeman] If you want to support your argument by public opinion polls, I must point out that, to the question of which is the second-most-attractive party, the ODS supporters replied that the ODA is, while the ODA supporters named the social democracy. I do not wish to draw any definite conclusions from it, but I rather tend to believe that the support by the younger-age groups for political extremes is caused by a certain impasse, desperate situation. There are also numerous privatization and corruption problems.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Your party claimed that it would consistently determine and disclose corruption affairs, and nothing much has happened....

[Zeman] A lack of information is not an argument. We have published, for instance, the Aero Holding affair. We proposed that an investigation commission be established. The government deputies rejected this proposal. I ask, why? We published the Plzen breweries affair. I am not accusing you of violating Article 102, but, even as we speak, you are at variance with the claim made by Interior Minister Jan Ruml, who publicly declared that the social democracy is responsible for the Wallis affair. Of course, I do not claim that we are. I only say that Minister Ruml believes it.

At the time of the Hradec congress, we were assured by the former leadership that we are the wealthiest party, so we assumed that investigation teams composed of lawyers, journalists, and economists would be established. When we learned that we are not able to finance these teams—which we, of course, learned only after the congress—it slowed us down but did not change our attitude.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] You said that some parties offer simple solutions. Would you not say that your statement "we are after the government's throat" qualifies for such a denotation?

[Zeman] A statement of the "we are after the government's throat" type is used in the West by opposition politicians on a daily basis in an infinite number of variations. I can understand that, in a country nursed on the communist political culture, such a statement seems rather out of place. Nevertheless, let us not be hypocrites. If we keep saying that we want to get closer to the Western political culture, we must understand that a certain, albeit rough, exchange of invectives between the government and the opposition is an organic part of it. I attended a conference of the British Labour Party in Brighton recently. There, [Labour Party Leader] John Smith recommended that the British Conservative Party replace [British Prime Minister] John Major with the winner of the last Liverpool [Grand National] steeplechase—i.e., by a horse. As you might have observed, I have not suggested that Vaclav Klaus be replaced by Zeleznik [Pardubice steeplechase winner]. Hence, I am somewhat more moderate. During the U.S. presidential campaign, George Bush said that his dog Millie understands foreign policy better than Bill Clinton. Bill Clinton, as opposed to Mr. Hruska [district police chief who sued Zeman for comments on his education], did not sue George Bush for damages of $100,000. We may dislike it. Let us ask why we dislike it. Whether it is not just that we are used to an opposition of the National-Front type, but, then, the National Front has never been an opposition.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] You claim that your party does not offer simple solutions. It seems, however, that your bon mot attracted more supporters to the CSSD than its complex program.

[Zeman] The fact that we are not able to offer simple solutions and that a positive program, of course, is more complex and continues to develop does not mean that we would not use, like any opposition party in the West, also

formulations that will point out to the voters that we are a vigorous and aggressive rather than an obedient opposition. After all, you have an example in the parliament of a constructive and accommodating opposition. It is Hirs's liberal, social, national, and who-knows-what party. I do not have the feeling that the Czech political scene can in any way benefit from such an accommodating opposition. An opposition that is not attacking and trying to replace the ruling party in the next elections is not an opposition. It is only a certain modification of that well-behaving National Front type of party.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] The claim that coupon privatization is a fraud belongs to the simple slogans. Nevertheless, several hundred thousand more people have registered for the second wave of registration than did for the first wave, and some investors made a nice profit. Would you not say that your conjecture is rather controversial?

[Zeman] The enterprises privatized by the coupon privatization methods have two possibilities: The first, less common, has most capital shared by small investors. You will see that, in such an instance, the management virtually cannot be recalled. The other possibility, and one that occurs more frequently, has most of the share capital owned by privatization funds. The privatization fund is, however, a stockholding company in its own right. It has small shareholders exclusively. Thus, the management of these stockholding companies called privatization funds cannot be recalled, either. At the same time, one of the basic principles of the market economy is the right of the owner for an efficient control of the management. Our enterprises are de facto owned by the managers. I do not question their talents or efficiency but, rather, point out that, because of links from the past era, many of these managers are people who were brought up under the former regime and who, under the present system, when no sufficient legislative barriers exist, can have the tendency to bring the enterprise to bankruptcy, start their own company, and operate it at the cost of the quasi-privatized enterprise. They can also reach an agreement with a foreign capital company that does not always come to this country with such good intentions as to bring in the know-how and new technology and utilize the advantage of cheap labor but can be, instead, interested in eliminating a local manufacturer to open the Czech market for its own products. I am not claiming that it always is the case. I would wrong our managers—and I respect many of them. I do claim, however, that it can happen and that it is actually happening already in a marginal number of cases. That is my principal objection to coupon privatization. Yes, let us say that the Harvard Funds or any other fund will pay more for a share than its symbolic book value is. I say—and what? We all live and are going to live in this country. We all are going to depend on the output of our economy—i.e., on the output of the industrial enterprises. If we opted for a privatization method that reduces this output, we will all have to pay for it and will notice it in the lower standard of living, in our real income, and also in what is called the quality of life.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Some time ago, you said that there is no discrepancy between your annual report and the analysis by Mr. Novotny. So, why such a long discussion about something that is not controversial, and why did the Central Executive Committee members receive only the first part of Novotny's material and not the whole thing?

[Zeman] One has to realize that material regarding electoral preferences was discussed by the presidium approximately one month after it was received. So, you cannot say that the reaction was belated. This is the part that was put at the disposal of the Central Executive Committee. Regarding the second part, I believe that the discussion should continue. We are seeking ways to make us a more efficient opposition rather than an obedient one. I do not like parties that claim their congress to be the most important event of the year in domestic politics if they state, at the same time, that nothing significant happened at this congress. Every live party should contemplate its mistakes because its eventual successes are brought about by the voters, and, therefore, they do not have to think about the successes. We are perceived as an alternative to the current government policy, and if it is to be viable, it must be continuously cultivated. I pity the parties that do not do it.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] On the outside, the CSSD seems to be a party full of controversial and contradicting analyses, materials, and reports.

[Zeman] You are starting from two unmentioned assumptions. First, a party, in which there are no discussions and possible alternatives of development or hypotheses are not compared is a better party than one in which discussions are taking place. Second, you believe that, if the deputies' club of a party is assessed in at least two different ways, the party must be worse than one that has a unified opinion in its deputies' club. Both of these assumptions, which you did not mention but are valid, nonetheless, can be questioned. In the Middle East war, only two types of missiles were used. Unguided ones, which could not correct their course during flight—i.e., the Scud missiles. They mostly fell down in the desert and caused only minor damage. The guided, self-correcting antimissile Patriot missiles mostly hit their targets precisely because of the self-correcting feature. The social democrats are trying to be like these guided missiles. That means a missile that corrects its course in flight. We consider the politics of the ruling parties, particularly the ODS, which are often intoxicated by what Fulbright called the arrogance of power, an uncorrected course. So, ask yourself what is more expedient. Is it not to contemplate the possibilities and talk, make a decision, and go on? I myself asked that we take stock of our situation after one year. We could have kept saying how successful and great we are, how the nation admires us, and then come to the Ostrava ice arena [as Klaus did] and learn the opposite.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] God forbid that we would think that a party in which there are no discussions, or only one person discusses the issues, is better than a party in which discussions take place. The opposite is true. It seems on the outside, however, that there is not much willingness for discussion in your party....

[Zeman] Two or three months do not solve the problem. Nonetheless, I can say that there is a proposal in my report to the Central Executive Committee that our Central Committee, which has held a 120-member-body meeting for one day every two or three months so far be divided into specific working sections that will deal with certain problem areas. The Central Committee working sections should identify the questions that are felt to be the most burning problems. I completely agree with Ota Novotny on this count, and that is also how I understand his proposal.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] You spoke about those simplifying slogans. We believe that your report was a simplifying one. We are referring to the part in which you demagogically spoke about our right wing as having fascist tendencies....

[Zeman] Jiri Vcelar Kotas, who has been explaining to us in this country for a long time what an authentic right wing is, said once that the more right it is the better. That is on the record. I polemicize with this statement because, just as the left wing per se is nothing harmful, while in its extreme form—i.e., the communist form—it certainly is harmful, so there is nothing harmful on the conservative right wing. However, as soon as it reaches the extreme forms—if the space for the application of democratic institutions is reduced, the powers of the Supreme Control Office limited, and if, after the abolition of the Prosecutor General's Office, we transfer to the state attorney system, one of the self-correcting mechanisms is weakened—an intermediate stage ensues. Let us call the first stage an authoritarian one. It is happening again that the posts in the state apparatus are filled according to the party membership and not according to the qualifications. I could name other forms of nondemocratic tendencies. The proof by contradiction means that you try to simulate what happens as you reach the end of this process. Even if the end is very remote. My report says: fascist tendencies in their extremes. That is a common form of expression when you are trying to say how bitter the ends would be precisely because you want to prevent their actually taking place. You try to point out that you have set off on an avalanche slope, for instance, and want to go somewhere else. You are glad when the avalanche does not occur.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Of course, Mr. Kotas does not represent our right wing. He is more of a tragicomic figure....

[Zeman] Our right wing is Mr. Kotas. It was Mr. Kotas who said that the more right, the better. I repeat that this statement is complete nonsense. Mr. Kotas declared himself a right-winger, and, in his time, he was known to a nonnegligible part of the public as a representative of the right wing. I must respect this fact.

Andrejcak Discusses Defense, Military Issues

AU1103120994 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 7 Mar 94 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Defense Minister Imrich Andrejcak by Martin Hric; place and date not given: "Concerning Information In and Out of Uniform"]

[Text] The government approved a long-awaited document—the Slovak Defense Doctrine—last week. We asked Defense Minister Imrich Andrejcak for an interview on not only this document, but also some of the allegations that have been made recently.

[Hric] Mr. Minister, the six-page text of the doctrine and its characteristic features suggest that this is more of a political document than a military-strategic one. Is this in order?

[Andrejcak] It is, after all, an exclusively political document. It expresses our aims and objectives. I think that the world accepts these principles and that Central Europe will be a region of peace.

[Hric] Have other states also drafted a defense doctrine in such a form? For instance, as far as we are aware, the Hungarian doctrine is of a more specific nature from which the structure and deployment of the Army evolve.

[Andrejcak] It is impossible to assume a direct link between the published text of the Defense Doctrine and the specific activity of the Army. Military experts react to this political manifestation of the state's will by adopting specific technical and organizational measures and by creating the financial and material resources necessary for peace time and a possible conflict.

[Hric] The fact of the matter is, we are drafting a defense doctrine in Slovakia for the first time. Until now, we have always accepted them from our powerful patrons—the French, the Germans, and the Soviets.

[Andrejcak] Such a comprehensively formulated military doctrine is unique in the postcommunist states and is also rare in the rest of the world. As a rule, to me, this doctrine outlines the ideas, views, and activities—their declarations—of the state's political and military representatives.

[Hric] Is it at all practical to devise a military doctrine without formulating the possible risks and dangers? Although we can imagine the diplomatic fireworks, what would happen then?

[Andrejcak] We have defined precisely the internal and external risks in the Principles for the Slovak Republic's National Security. However, no states are mentioned there because we declare our interest in friendship with all states on the basis of equality. For this reason, I do not think it is necessary, even in this document, to identify the cardinal points. Soldiers have to be able to react to any potential threat to the state, regardless of the direction from which it comes. However, this is a question of military strategy and of military craft, which is not promulgated in public documents.

[Hric] A too strong army, as well as a weak one, is also a source of instability. The former arouses anxiety, while the latter arouses the ambitions of neighbors. Do you think our Army has reached the exact level of so-called reasonable sufficiency?

[Andrejcak] The concept of "reasonable sufficiency" evolved during the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact when the treaty on conventional armed forces was being drafted. A means of reducing the disproportionally high number of weapons in Europe and of maintaining the certitude of equal security for states was being sought. The number of troops and weapon systems proceeds from the extent of the territory and size of the population of this or that state. This principle and term were also used during the division of the former Czechoslovak Army. The 2:1 ratio corresponds to the size of our population and the extent of our territory. However, the treaty allows us to have slightly higher numbers than a proportional NATO member would have. We have a permitted ceiling of 46,000 officers and men; if we were to reach the level of the Netherlands or Belgium, we could reduced the number of personnel to 35,000. If Central Europe reduces the number of personnel to below the level set by the treaty on conventional weapons, we will also reduce our numbers.

You are right. A weak army is, on the whole, a pointless waste of money—as is too strong an army. The principle of sufficiency proceeds from the certitude of a potential adversary that, in an assault, he would suffer such major losses that, compared with the possible gains, it would not be worth starting one at all. However, it is not necessary to have a 1:1 ratio for this; it is also possible to defend oneself with smaller forces.

[Hric] One of the reservations of Mr. Slota was that, during the division of the Federal Army, we did not immediately proceed with restructuring the division system into the more efficient brigade system. Was this realistic? What is the situation in other states?

[Andrejcak] Some people see the brigade system as a condition for our entry into NATO. This is not true. Countries coexist within NATO with either system. The future of the Army lies in the brigade system for completely different reasons. These include the geopolitical position of our state, the possibilities for the troops' combat function, and the need for forces in individual directions. That is, smaller units than today's divisions are necessary but functional separately to conduct combat activity for several days. We could transfer to a brigade system today. However, we would be responsible for reducing Slovakia's defense capability. For instance, a brigade needs a communications system virtually at the level of a division. Until we resolve this issue, we can only form specialist brigades—which is not a transition to a brigade system.

[Hric] The issue of the home guard is brought up repeatedly; people here note that, in the United States, the National Guard almost copies the structure of the Army, including being equipped with pursuit aircraft. Could you reiterate the Defense Ministry's point of view?

[Andrejcak] No home guard unit is formed in peace time. In the event of a threat, it will be formed from the same caliber of people that complement the field army. The planned units are called territorial army units, but, if people desire the name "home guard," they can be renamed. The aims are the same, regardless of the name. However, it would make no sense at all to form such units in peace time, within the framework of the permitted numbers, to the detriment of the units that have far more complex equipment and training.

[Hric] Did Mr. Klepac not have something else in mind when he made this demand?

[Andrejcak] Certainly not. He made it at the time of the joint Federal Army so that the units on our territory would have a Slovak command. There is no reason now to create a new ministry or other command for the "home guard." Two systems cannot protect the same territory without cooperating with each other; that would be nonsense.

[Hric] Although Prime Minister Meciar repeatedly emphasized his satisfaction with the division of the Federal Army (as opposed to the division of the fleet, the airline, CEDOK, and so on), Mr. Slota has publicly aired his misgivings that you have filled Slovakia with military scrap.

[Andrejcak] I suggested to the two prime ministers before the division of the Army that they appoint commissioners. The governments then appointed commissioners for individual sectors. They supervised the calculations of the group attached to the General Staff, for which I was responsible. The commissioners approved the fundamental principle of division and the correctness of the calculations. This is a matter of the level of information. I warned the commissioners in advance that they will sign documents on the division, and, in the event that doubts are expressed, they have to be prepared to thoroughly defend them. I am convinced that these hundreds of people did a perfect job. It is necessary to identify a problem and then express an opinion on it.

[Hric] The Association of Slovak Soldiers repeatedly reproaches you for making alleged cuts of 400 million korunas, despite the shortage of apartments or resources for training.

[Andrejcak] This is another old wives' tale that I have to keep on explaining ad infinitum: We adhered to the rules set by the government; we did not keep even a heller for ourselves. The accounting term leaked out and was misinterpreted. After all, we could not keep any money in our account because, on the contrary, we had to borrow for the apartments.

[Hric] And, finally, according to opinion polls, as far as Slovakia's defense is concerned, 31 percent of the citizens trust the president, 17 percent trust your ministry, and only 3 percent trust the government. Just 2.2 percent trust us journalists, so we have nothing to sneer about.

[Andrejcak] According to the periodic polls conducted by the Statistical Office, the Army as a whole is repeatedly in first or second place. We have our internal problems. These include, for example, bullying. However, when an 18-year-old youth has been getting away with it for years, he does not believe the commanders that this is punishable in the Army. We need to increase the feeling of patriotism and to get our commanders to be more exacting. Many commanders have jumped a couple of grades of management and have to learn. However, these are the Army's internal problems, and we will deal with them.

[Hric] Thank you. We will keep our fingers crossed for you.

Carnogursky: Slovakia Becoming Pariah of Europe

AU1003211294 Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENNIK in Slovak 7 Mar 94 p 1

[Interview with Jan Carnogursky, chairman of the Christian Democratic Movement, by Peter Toth; place and date not given: "Shall We Be the Pariah of Europe?"]

[Text] [Toth] You have returned from a meeting of the European Democratic Union [EDU] Steering Committee. Did you discuss with Andreas Khol, the EDU secretary general, the petition for a referendum [initiated by the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia], which he had called undemocratic a few days earlier?

[Carnogursky] I discussed this issue with Andreas Khol at the margin of the meeting. He confirmed his position that the EDU and the Council of Europe would consider the exclusion of elected deputies from parliament undemocratic. The issue of the observation of democratic rules in Slovakia would be raised in the Council of Europe in that case. As a matter of fact, this problem is known also from Albania, where a group of deputies broke away from the Democratic Party. This party, too, wanted to deal with this problem like Vladimir Meciar, but it finally abandoned its intention on the basis of warnings from international organizations. These deputies now represent an independent club of deputies in the Albanian parliament.

[Toth] You have spent approximately one week in the West. What is the view there of Slovakia, which is experiencing a crisis?

[Carnogursky] Slovakia is slowly but surely becoming the pariah of Europe. Compared with all other countries of the continent, it is declining.

[Toth] The Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] used to have a relatively good position in the EDU, particularly from the viewpoint of lobbying. Do you think that your credibility, or the effectiveness of KDH lobbying, might suffer, in view of the political and economic crisis in Slovakia?

[Carnogursky] The KDH's credibility will not suffer, but the effectiveness of lobbying will because it can only be done to a certain degree. Simply, when Slovakia gets itself into too many "troubles," these cannot be mitigated by lobbying.

[Toth] What does this mean for us, and what should be changed for Slovak diplomacy to gain scope for lobbying?

[Carnogursky] A wide range of steps is involved, which I am unable to enumerate at present. But rendering impossible a legislative amendment that would allow the exclusion from parliament of deputies [who have left the party, on the ticket of which they had been elected] would definitely be one of these steps. In economic policy, the generation of a budget deficit and the borrowing of money from abroad that is not reasonably covered must not continue. And a foreign policy must not continue, about which it is not clear where it is heading.

SNS's Slota Airs Ideas on 'National Principles'

AU1003202594 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 7 Mar 94 p 11

[Interview with Jan Slota, chairman of the Slovak National Party, by an unidentified EXTRA SLOVENSKO reporter; place and date not given: "Nationally Aware 'Diehards'"—reprinted from issue No. 9 of EXTRA SLOVENSKO]

[Text] "Mr. Slota, you were elected chairman of the Slovak National Party [SNS] at an extraordinary party congress, where you "steamrolled" not only Ludovit Cernak but also Jozef Prokes. What are your ideas regarding cooperation with your coalition partner, the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS]?" [HZDS weekly] EXTRA SLOVENSKO No. 9 asked Jan Slota, the new SNS chairman.

[Slota] There exists a treaty regarding this issue, signed by the former SNS chairman. No one from our party has cast doubt on this treaty thus far so we continue to act in its intentions. This is not to say, however, that we are "subordinating ourselves" to the HZDS or that we represent some platform within the framework of that movement. For example, we have fundamental reservations about Defense Minister Andrejcak. We support the HZDS also with regard to the referendum. I am convinced that a minimum of 12 to 14 percent of nationally aware Slovak "diehards" live in Slovakia. These people must be persuaded that we are not hopping [from one extreme to another] but that we stick to our line and pursue our target.

[EXTRA SLOVENSKO] You have proclaimed the return to national principles. Could you explained that in greater detail?

[Slota] We proceed from the priorities of the SNS, which are, first and foremost, securing the independence and defense capability of the Slovak Republic at any price. This is the Army's assignment. Unfortunately, many of the highest positions in the Army are held by officers of Czech or Hungarian nationality. Apart from that, the soldiers are poorly trained. Another priority is education, a sphere in which the assertion of the national principle ranks last. After all, it is immoral when citizens of the state-forming nation are being assimilated on the sovereign territory of the Slovak Republic! And, at long last, there is culture. It is abnormal when we support from the state budget the publication of press in Hungarian, which is incessantly spitting on this Republic. Let us wake up, Slovaks!

[EXTRA SLOVENSKO] Will you contest the elections independently or together with the HZDS or, possibly, with the Christian Social Union?

[Slota] This can only be decided by an SNS congress. I can only express my personal opinion. It is 100 percent sure that we will obtain substantially more votes than in the last elections. It goes without saying that we are interested in nationally oriented forces—in particular, gaining seats in parliament—lest we have a Hungarian-Bolshevik parliament. That would mean our end as a national republic.

[EXTRA SLOVENSKO] After your election as SNS chairman, you declared that Zhirinovskiy was an interesting personality and that time would show what was going on in Russia. The world is dissociating itself from him, however....

[Slota] Why should it dissociate itself? Zhirinovskiy is a deputy to the Russian parliament and 40 million Russians voted for his party! One can only have reservations about some of his statements. When someone speaks four languages, including Turkish, he cannot be a madman.

[EXTRA SLOVENSKO] Would you be able to invite him to Slovakia?

[Slota] I would not want to comment on that.

[EXTRA SLOVENSKO] What are your ideas regarding cooperation with Prime Minister Meciar? Do you think you will come to an agreement?

[Slota] I think that, essentially, there exists no reason for us not to talk constructively. This does not mean, however, that somebody will be there just to fill the numbers.... There is much common ground between us, where our thinking is identical.

Political Options of Hungarian Minority

94CH0169A Prague PRAGUE POST in English 1 Feb 94 p 11

[Commentary by Mark Griffin: "Feeling Familiar Tremors in South Slovakia"]

[Text] As news of the Jan. 8 meeting of Slovakia's ethnic Hungarians in Komarno filtered through, one could discern a certain sense of deja vu about the whole affair. With leaders of the minority group gathered to condemn government proposals for new administrative boundaries, what transpired was a debate about the "sufferings" of the Hungarians at the hands of Slovaks.

While not detracting from the aspirations of a minority to express its identity, the situation provides more than a few worrying parallels to the pre-World War II conflicts between the Czech government and the Sudeten Germans in Bohemia and Moravia. Nazi Germany's extreme irredentism (the desire to regain lost territories) has no modern parallels, but the transnationalism of Hungarian minorities in Central Europe is similar to that of prewar German minorities.

Such parallels figure prominently in Slovak minds. German reunification in 1990 showed borders can be changed. To deny that possibility in the case of Slovakia would be gross naivete.

A campaign for minority rights poses more questions than it answers. What has to be dealt with is an equation of the rights and duties inherent in any concept of citizenship. This is problematic in a liberal democracy.

What is needed is a complete reformulation of the concept of citizenship. While this might seem theoretically removed from the aspirations of the Hungarian minority, the recurring theme of this conflict is self-administration. For the Slovak government, this would amount to a step toward redrawing the border. Hungarians both in Budapest and in South Slovakia rarely miss an opportunity to internationalize local tensions, shunning subdued solutions.

If the means of solving the problem are to be international, then there must be an unequivocal recognition of the borders of all of Hungary's neighbors. To make the situation conditional on minority rights precludes any settlement of an increasingly amplified dispute in southern Slovakia.

Add to this the communal memory and mutual recriminations over changes to the Slovak-Hungarian border between 1938 and 1945, and one can begin to understand the nervousness of the Slovak government. Slovakia is a new state with a fragile coalition government and a history of tense relations among ethnic groups.

The government surprised few when it pursued a thinly veiled attempt to change voting districts to dilute the electoral composition of the more ethnically Hungarian districts. In return, the proposals presented at Komarno by the Hungarian minority were, likewise, less than realistic.

The Trianon agreement of 1920, which pared Hungary to its present size, remains for most Hungarians the ultimate betrayal and injustice, leaving large communities of Hungarians stranded in four foreign countries. This is a bitter pill they have never swallowed, though they have grudgingly accepted their neighbors' borders. The problem now is that Central Europe is a region where politics are not designed to facilitate solutions.

It's understandable that this minority should look across the border for support, given geographical proximity and the compactness of communities along the border. As Dutch Foreign Minister Louwe Kooijmans suggested on a recent visit, it would be more in the Hungarians' interest to seek an internal accommodation rather than work through a neighboring government.

While the danger of minorities being used by certain sectors of the Hungarian political spectrum are present, the perception of potential manipulation is more destabilizing than the reality. This is the Slovak national nightmare and the plaything of conspiracy theorists in both Slovakia and Hungary.

By sending a clear signal of recognition to both the Slovak government and its Hungarian minority, Hungary would play a positive role and deflate the nationalists on both sides. Accepting Trianon and thus undermining potential conflict is the only effective gesture that can lead to a settlement. Unfortunately, we are facing a deficit of constructive politics in the region.

A lasting solution may be found with Slovak President Michal Kovac's decision to invite a delegation of parliamentarians from the European Union to deliberate on all administrative boundary proposals. This was, of course, unique—the first time the issue has been internationalized by the Slovaks, in this case constructively.

Walesa on TV Council, Budget, Court Case

WS0903134894 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 9 Mar 94 p 2

[Article by M.U.: "Walesa: I Must Check the Budget"; last paragraph unattributed]

[Text] Asked whether he will sign the budget, President Walesa said that he must first check it. "If it corresponds to my hopes, and these hopes spring from the people, then I will sign it," he stated.

Lech Walesa declared his support for the head of the Ministry of National Defense, who announced that he will institute legal proceedings in the Constitutional Tribunal because the Sejm encroached upon the powers of the executive branch by ordering the Defense Ministry to purchase equipment made exclusively in Poland. "In new democracies, when new deputies come, they think that everything depends on them," he added.

Commenting on his conflict with the National Council of Radio and Television [KRRiT], the president said: "I expect several moves that will make the task easier for me." Asked what kinds of moves he meant, he said: "effective," and, on the part of KRRiT, moves "making action and life easier for the president." Asked about the possibility of Ryszard Bender's leaving the council, he said that he has a few friends in KRRiT. Concerning Andrzej Zaorski, who is said to be the presidential candidate for the council's chairman, the president said: "He is a good expert." As to the candidacy of Aleksander Kwasniewski to the post of president, he said: "He will definitely be defeated by me."

Lech Walesa may refuse to sign the Budget Law, just like any other law. It would then return to the Sejm, which may overturn the presidential veto with a two-thirds majority vote. The Sejm's arithmetic suggests that the Sejm should not have any problem doing just that, if necessary. The lack of the president's signature would also in no way affect implementation of the budget.

Prime Minister Receives French Chief of Staff

LD1003205894 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1737 GMT 10 Mar 94

[Text] Warsaw, 10 Mar—On 10 March, Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak received Marshal Jacques Lanxade, chief of staff of the French Army. The government press office reported that Alain Bry, French ambassador to Poland, and General Tadeusz Wilecki, chief of the general staff of the Polish Army, were also present.

Poland and France signed an agreement on defense cooperation. Marshall Lanxade and Gen. Wilecki briefed the prime minister on the scope of the cooperation and stressed the importance of individual contacts between officers of both armies.

Polish and French soldiers will have an opportunity to meet in Normandy in June during the 50th anniversary of the D-day landings on the continent. The government press office communique says that the marshal assured the prime minister that France would support Poland's aspiration for full integration with the Western security system.

National Front: Zhirinovskiy Visit 'Investment'

LD1103105994 Warsaw PAP in Polish 0800 GMT 11 Mar 94

[Text] Warsaw, 11 Mar—Janusz Bryczkowski, leader of the "Self-Defense" National Front, told Polish Radio Three on Friday morning that money spent by him on Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's Polish visit is an investment in the future president of Russia.

According to Bryczkowski, we cannot have an enemy in the future president of Russia. For Zhirinovskiy's visit, he will assign 300,000,000 zloty "for Poland."

"Zhirinovskiy is coming at a private invitation as a citizen of our great neighbor. He is a friend of Poland and declares this friendship at every opportunity. He will have a chance to confront what the newspapers write about him with reality," he said.

One of the main aims of the visits is to be the setting up of a nongovernment commission for political and economic cooperation, which will enhance the trade exchange between Poland and Russia. Several Russian banks and several "serious" Polish banks are to be incorporated in the cooperation. "A real goods exchange would begin then," the "Self-Defense" National Front leader said.

Zhirinovskiy's security will be guarded by the Misztal's private bodyguard firm as well as by a detachment of the "Self-Defense" National Front, all wearing specially purchased "nice, black uniforms." If there should be an attempt to expel Zhirinovskiy from Poland, they will be fighting against the police, the "Self-Defense" National Front leader announced.

Foreign journalists who would like to have an exclusive conversation with Zhirinovskiy will have to pay $1,000 a minute.

Solidarity Complains of 'Repressions'

WS1003145694 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 10 Mar 94 p 2

[Article by B.I.W. and P.W.R.: "Solidarity: Government Declared War"]

[Text] "The Government of the Republic of Poland has declared war on members of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union 'Solidarity' working in the railroads"—this according to the Solidarity National Committee [KK]. Repressive measures used against the railroad Solidarity were seen as similar To martial law, "similar to the one imposed on 13 December."

Unionists cited the consent for trains to run red lights on the day of the strike, which was denied by the minister's spokesperson. "A group of strike breakers has been prepared, which consists of former members of the Voluntary Reserve of Citizens Militia," claims Solidarity. "Despite that, from 0900 to 1900 on Friday [11 March], trains will not go anywhere," declared the union.

The KK, which held a session in Lodz, threatens a general strike and protest to international organizations if the authorities do not stop taking repressive measures. The power plant and the mine in Belchatow are ready to go on strike; these enterprises have placed themselves at the disposal of the protest headquarters. Today there will be a warning strike in all mines.

Furious Unionists

KK members were infuriated when railroad workers informed them about the repressions. A Solidarity spokesman said that, in mines and telecommunication centers, Solidarity members are intimidated. Railroad workers complained that directors cut off communications for plant committees, do not allow Solidarity members to perform their tasks on the day of the strike, strengthen police patrols and the Railroad Protection Services, and threaten layoffs.

Marian Krzaklewski said that the union can wait two or three days for the government to stop violating the rights of the unionists. After that time, a general strike may break out. Asked whether Solidarity will be able to stage such a protest because the strike fund is still accumulating, Krzaklewski answered: We will see.

Today Mines and Shipyards

Participating in yesterday's strikes were five plants in the Koszalin region and a few dozen plants in the Lodz Voivodship (90 plants were assigned to take action; 21 are ready for a general strike). Strikes were also staged in 150 plants of the Silesian-Dabrowa branch of Solidarity—that is, in 50 more than the authorities of the region had assigned. Between 0600 and 0800 today, all 64 pit-coal mines are supposed to strike. Regional Solidarity Head Marek Kempski told us that the situation in the region is so tense that in approximately six mines the break in work may last as long as 24 hours. It is also possible that some of them will want to begin a continuous strike.

The national demands of Solidarity will also be supported today by over a hundred plants in and around Gdansk, including most probably the Gdansk seaport, the Gdansk and Gdynia shipyards, and the Repair Shipyard.

Marian Krzaklewski stated that the next culmination point of the Solidarity action will come after 15 March.

Strikes, Rallies Continue

WS1103124294 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 11 Mar 94 pp 1-2

[Article by A.F.T., B.C., B.I.W., and PAD: "The Friday Strike in the PKP Began on Thursday; Railroads Struggle"]

[Text] Freight traffic by rail was stopped yesterday, which was the beginning of the strike at some railway junctions of the Lower Silesian district—for example, in Czestochowa. It was announced that passenger trains would be stopped at 0300 on 11 March. The nationwide strike by railroad workers will continue today into the evening, but Solidarity ["S"] does not rule out the possibility that it may last longer than that in some junctions unless the General Administration [DG] of the Polish State Railroads [PKP] stops "repressions and violations of unionists' rights."

It is not known whether the PKP will go on strike all over Poland because the DG is trying to "resist the illegal" action. According to "S", however, the activities of the DG will encounter the opposition of many employees (such as engine drivers—the permission to "pass red lights" and so the "strike impact" will be stronger). The DG PKP reported that it had forwarded a letter to the regional prosecutor's office, in which it wrote about the intention of the railroad S to violate the law. The Gdansk Region of "S" and mines were on strike yesterday; some of them were on strike for 18 to 24 hours. However, the scale of the miners' strikes is evaluated by "S" differently than by the boards of the coal partnerships.

The PKP Will Not Throw People Out

DG PKP Press Spokesperson Anna Raczkowska stated on the evening of 10 March that she had received the first official report about the PKP strike on Thursday [10 March], when "in Silesia it had already begun 90 minutes earlier!" The DG PKP decided that this strike was illegal and sent information to that effect to the prosecutor's office. The strike will probably not be joined by the northern and central districts. According to the DG, losses resulting from the 10-hour strike will amount to 50 or 60 billion zlotys; approximately 3,300 passenger trains will be stopped, and approximately 1.5 million people will have difficulty getting, among other places, to work.

PKP Director General Aleksander Janiszewski forwarded information "on the intention of violating the law" by the National Railroads Section of "S" to the prosecutor's office. He claims that "the section's chairman, Mr. Krzysztof Maminski, from 5 to 9 March" in the mass media "publicly encouraged people to organize a strike in the PKP on 11 March," which was contrary to the provisions of the Law on Resolving

Collective Bargaining. "It is not true that we are implementing militarization of the railways, that we are cutting off telephone communications. We simply do not want fax machines to be used for the purposes of an illegal strike," he declared.

The director said that special regulations were issued for 11 March, which would limit the possibilities of entering the offices of employees who work different shifts; attempts to exchange some of the employees were made, so that those who do not want to strike would be able to work. The PKP will also employ the principle, in line with which trains may pass "on a special order"—that is, the same that "S" calls "passing the red lights."

"The enterprise should be governed by the administration, not by the trade unions."

The strikers will not be in any way punished, aside from the fact that they will not get remuneration for the period of the strike. Each of them will receive the scheduled wage increase.

"S" argues that the DG did not allow its members to issue information about the strike; in line with the law, this should be done five days ahead of time. It did not allow them to post information leaflets and thus arouse the interest of the people.

According to the Board of the Gdansk Region, approximately 140 enterprises took part in the one-hour strike; among them were the following shipyards: Gdynia Shipyard, Navy Shipyard in Gdynia, Gdansk Shipyard, as well as Siarkopol. It is estimated that 70 percent of the work force took part in the protest. In line with the results of a quick opinion poll conducted by RZECZPOSPOLITA among directors of the enterprises, the scope of the strike was smaller than expected: In the Gdansk Shipyard, for instance, 25 percent of the work force was supposed to go on strike. The strike did not cause any losses at the port; neither departures nor arrivals of any ships were scheduled for that time.

"S" stated that yesterday's strike was a complete success. Presidents of the coal partnerships say that work at most of the mines was peaceful and uninterrupted. "S" reports that 50 mines were on strike from 0600 to 0800; the partnerships' presidents say that, in the overwhelming majority of mines, there were only rallies, lasting 15 minutes or so (according to the presidents, they were held in only some mines—for example, in the Gliwice partnerships, in three out of seven mines); after the rallies, the work force resumed work. The union emphasizes that the purpose of the "S" action is to resolve the problems of the work forces, not to hold strikes as such. The Silesian-Dabrowa branch of "S" reported that 18- or 24-hour strikes were staged in 19 mines (out of 70), including four zinc and lead mines, as well as in eight mines of the Bytom partnership (those miners began their strike on Wednesday night). The directors of the mines say that in only two mines were the majority of workers on strike; in the remaining mines, only a dozen or so percent of the work force participated.

In eight mines of the Vistula partnership, some of the workers staged an eight-hour strike. "S" speaks of the mines as a whole, whereas the president of the partnership lists them individually: In three mines, approximately 30 percent of the work force was on strike; in "Silesia," 50 percent; and in "Brzesc," the majority. "S" explains that the rallies may have been short, but mines fulfilled the quota of a two-hour protest by organizing strikes during all shifts.

Industry Minister Assesses Strike by Miners

WS1003103094 Warsaw Radio Zet in Polish 0715 GMT 10 Mar 94

[Interview with Polish Industry and Trade Minister Marek Pol by Andrzej Woyciechowski at the Radio Zet studio in Warsaw on the "Guest of Radio Zet" program—live]

[Excerpt] [Woyciechowski] Radio Zet's guest today is Industry Minister Marek Pol. Good morning to you, sir.

[Pol] Good morning.

[Woyciechowski] Miners in Silesia have been on strike since this morning. What do the miners demand from you, and what are you willing to give them?

[Pol] First of all, from what the organizers of the strike are saying, the miners are on strike over general issues—that is, regarding Solidarity's nationwide demands—and what I say is that [hesitating] the answer is always the same: Appropriate boards have been set up for talks with the government, and the purpose of the boards is to come to agreement over national demands by the trade unions and what they want to accomplish for the working class. It so happens that the trade unionists are not very eager to speak during sessions by the trilateral commission or by groups with the participation of the government and the trade unions that are negotiating social issues—they are much more eager to be heard in the media than during such meetings as I just mentioned. What they want is that real earnings be increased and that the Agreement on State-Owned Enterprises be implemented. When it comes to specific enterprises, the most frequent scenario is that, for instance, the specific enterprise's earning situation is the real reason for having a strike in that company. Then, when it deals with the nation, it is of course relatively easy to [words indistinct]...

[Woyciechowski, interrupting] In a word, the strike is simply about money? Is that the case, or does it also have a political nature? What is your assessment of [words indistinct]...

[Pol, interrupting] I mean, my view is that the intentions of the strike's organizers are political in many cases, but when it comes to the employees themselves, well, they make a decision to join the action because, on the one hand, they are told that no one wants to speak to trade unionists, which, by definition, stirs up emotions

because that would be proof of the authorities' arrogance. Second, they are on strike because life in general is very hard for many people in Poland, including those in Silesia. So that provides quite good grounds for having a strike.

[Woyciechowski] But can one say that the strike is of a political nature? I mean, from your standpoint, not just as industry minister but also a leader of the Union of Labor?

[Pol] You know, when I watch the escalation of the trade unions' measures and the way they are being organized, as well as the kinds of regions where strikes are being organized or at least where such attempts are being made—I mean in the infrastructure, which is the most vulnerable, and also taking into account the fact that the strikes are being organized in very many cases in areas where poverty is not the worst at all—I think that in many cases one would have to apply a political label to these measures. I think the measures are a kind of politics vis-a-vis the current government.

[Woyciechowski] What could be the reason for the trade unions to organize political strikes? Is it to bring down the government?

[Pol] It is hard for me to answer that question with precision. You should rather ask the trade unionists about that. But it is a fact that this question remains: What next? I mean, after the government is brought down.

[Woyciechowski] [Words indistinct] some kind of a new government. That has always been the case.

[Pol] Frankly speaking, given the current political configuration in parliament—after all, the elections defined the parliament's composition this way—I cannot quite imagine any further attempts at an aggregation. Besides, my feeling is that any subsequent government would have to face precisely the same problem. After all, there have been governments in the past that were organized and established by Solidarity, and then the Solidarity trade union recalled those governments or influenced their recall because it could not see any possibility for cooperation anymore. Right now, we have a government that Solidarity definitely did not establish and a strike measure after four months—actually, very strong measures against the government's policies began after three months....[Pol pauses] All in all, I cannot quite imagine and I do not know whether the organizers of the strikes are asking themselves the question of what next.

[Woyciechowski] You mean what will happen next? Mr. Minister, could you give the miners a raise? If you were to do so, they would most probably cease their strike action.

[Pol] I mean, I am afraid they would not cease their strikes anyway because [words indistinct]...

[Woyciechowski, interrupting] But if the raise were to be substantial?

[Pol] A great number of the mining companies are reportedly on strike today—we will find out later what really happened—and a majority of the mines managed to gain some raises in the recent time period, first of all as a result of negotiations because only part of the mines were on strike and, in a majority of them, managements of the companies or of the mines somehow managed to come to agreement with the miners in a sensible manner, despite the fact that there are nine to 11 trade unions in each mine. So I am quite surprised by the participation in the strikes of those mines that secured raises; in some cases, it is another in a series of strikes in a relatively short period of time. As for whether the minister or the government could give raises, generally speaking, the government's task is to formulate a policy that would allow for a gradual increase of earnings in a company. But, in practical terms, a company's economic policy is determined by the manager and the management because the manager is charged with the responsibility of whether the company will survive for the next few months or years, and whether it will be a permanent workplace for...

[Woyciechowski, interrupting] However, you certainly have several telephone numbers in your notebook. You might call several mine directors and tell them to increwages. They would surely increase the wages because I am sure they are a little afraid of you, Mr. Minister. Why are you not doing that?

[Pol] I suppose that if I tried to exert that kind of pressure, some of the more reasonable directors would submit their resignations and others would perhaps act on such a suggestion; this would mean, however, that I would have to take on the responsibility for the functioning of this or that enterprise for several months or even years. The problem is, no one from Warsaw is able to take on the responsibility for the functioning of such an enterprise. Apart rom that, no one is formally entitled to do that. The right to run an enterprise in line with the art of the economy is possessed by the board of directors of that given enterprise.

[Woyciechowski] Those miners also demand that the debt burden of mines and steelworks be lessened. This decision is certainly up to you. What does the process of lessening the debt burden of mines mean?

[Pol] This means restructurization, which is the key word. The indebtedness of an enterprise, reaching some kind of an agreement with creditors...

[Woyciechowski, interrupting] Who are the creditors?

[Pol] They are most often other enterprises in Poland...

[Woyciechowski, interrupting] Which are also owned by the state?

[Pol] Both state and private companies, individual persons, the state budget, the budgets of gminas [smallest administrative units]...

[Woyciechowski, interrupting] And all of these mines, or almost all of them, are simply indebted, they have some enormous debts to pay?

[Pol] Enormous debts...

[Woyciechowski, interrupting] And what does the lessening of the debt burden mean...

[Pol, interrupting] The overall indebtedness of these mines exceeds 50 trillion zlotys. This is nearly as much as the state's budget deficit right now. The lessening of the debt burden means reaching agreements with the creditors. Because they are very numerous, it is the state's or the government's duty to prepare a law that would make this technically possible. There exists such a law; it is a settlement law. It is today a special law for state enterprises and state partnerships. It entails the possibility of bank settlement procedures with creditor enterprises, which in practice means the following: If over 50 percent of the creditors or creditors that have loaned more than 50 percent of the entire debt agree to limit the debt of the mine or a group of mines, such an agreement is implemented and concerns all of the creditors, even those that have not agreed to that. In practice, this means considerably less severe conditions...

[Woyciechowski, interrupting] That simply means that the debt will not be paid off? This reminds me of the operation that Poland is trying to perform with Western banks.

[Pol] Exactly. Unfortunately, in the case of the mines, the debt reductions are much greater than...[Pol pauses] Or the abandoning of the demand that the debt be repaid is much greater than in the case of Poland's debts. In that case, it often exceeds 50 percent. To make a long story short, the state must create the necessary conditions and laws to implement this. Now, the very operation of lessening the debt must be performed by the enterprises themselves. The government, especially the Industry Ministry, provides aid to enterprises that are experiencing problems...

[Woyciechowski, interrupting] Does that mean that it provides financial aid to them or comforts them...

[Pol, interrupting] It either provides them with good companies that know how to prepare such documents...

[Woyciechowski, interrupting] That means that it sends good lawyers?

[Pol] Yes, it sends good lawyers, good cooperators. Sometimes it almost forces the managers of a given enterprise. All of this entails a lot of work...

[Woyciechowski, interrupting] You can force them to do something, after all, then?

[Pol] Yes, I can. It so happens that, as far as mining is concerned, we force them, in a sense, but also standardize the proceedings in the case of coal partnerships. All of the coal partnerships have already found themselves in the process of lessening the debt burden. I will not conceal the fact that the judges who supervise those proceedings are probably a little alarmed when they hear the information about the miners' strike; it so happens that on strike are those enterprises that in courts of law will want to reach an agreement with their creditors—that is, enterprises that have not gone on strike. [passage omitted]

Justice Minister Rejects Police Sponsorship

LD1003232194 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 2000 GMT 10 Mar 94

[Comments within quotation marks recorded]

[Text] The prosecutors' department of the Ministry of Justice confirms that the ministry regulations regarding the sponsorship of the police arouse serious doubts as to their accordance with the law in force. In the view of Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz, justice minister and deputy prime minister, sponsorship of the police ought to be decisively broken off.

[Unidentified correspondent] In the course of a news conference, Minister Cimoszewicz revealed that there had also been a wish to sponsor the prosecutor's office. Fortunately, this did not come about, he added.

[Cimoszewicz] "This was unambiguously cut off after the first case. This was never ever repeated."

[Correspondent] In the minister's view, the police ought to behave similarly. In accordance with the law of June 1990, the police are financed from the state budget. Today, there are not sufficient legal grounds for them to be sponsored. The principles for the accepting of gifts by the police are regulated by three documents, of which none is law. There is the minister of internal affairs' decree, an instruction by the director of the finance department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and a letter from the main commandant [of the police]. It is not precluded that the issue of sponsorship will be the main thread in the investigation into corruption in the Poznan police. Minister Cimoszewicz was surprised at the decision of the voivodship prosecutor's office in Warsaw, which shortly wishes to interview Dariusz Rossati, the candidate of the Democratic Left Alliance for [the post of] minister of finance. The interview is in association with Rossati's work on the supervisory board of the Foreign Indebtedness Servicing Fund [FOZZ].

[Cimoszewicz] "What the composition of the supervisory board of this fund was has been known for a long time. Why is it only now necessary to determine the address at which Mr. Rossati lives in Geneva? He has been living there for quite some time."

[Correspondent] The minister's doubts are also shared by the head of the prosecutors' department.

[Waldemar Smardzewski, director of the prosecutors' department of the Ministry of Justice] "In the near future, I will clarify the reasons it has been acknowledged that it is appropriate now to precisely carry through this procedural event, which could have been carried out a long, long time ago. So, why is this raised only now?"

[Correspondent] According to the information in the hands of journalists, the capital prosecutor's office today asked the Ministry of Justice whether it is to question Rossati. Such an obligation has been laid upon it by the appeal court, instructing the questioning of all of the members of the FOZZ Supervisory Board. Smardzewski denied that there had ever been a document with such a question.

Agreement With London Club on Settling Debt

LD1103111194 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 1000 GMT 11 Mar 94

[Text] Poland has reached an agreement with the London Club, whose members are our commercial bank creditors. Difficult negotiations have been going on for four years, and finally last night there was a breakthrough. Agreement was reached on the main conditions for settling the Polish debt.

These conditions include a comprehensive and realistic reduction of the debt, according to the statement published this morning. Mr. Krzysztof Krowacki, who led our delegation, says the agreement fulfills the basic requirements of the Polish side. First of all, our payments will be within the framework of the projected capabilities of the balance of payments and the state budget. They will be low in the first five years and will remain low during the most intensive period of payments due in accordance with agreements with the Paris Club. All of the components of the debt have been reduced. Also reduced were the costs of servicing the debt. Repayment periods will be longer, payments per one unit of debt will be lower, and the debt itself will be reduced further. The combined reduction of the debt exceeds 45 percent.

Politicians Comment on Bank Slaski Privatization

WS1103122094 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 11 Mar 94 p 2

[Article by Jan Bazyl Lipszyc: "There Was No Affair; Unofficial Talk"]

[Text] *There was no affair with regard to fixing the price of bank shares. There were just irregularities when it comes to getting the shares [of recently privatized Bank Slaski] into circulation, which should be cleared up, Sejm deputies say unofficially. What happened was an "accident at work"; these cannot be avoided in the process of privatization. The deputies are very much in agreement when it comes to expressing their views on this, regardless of their political affiliation.*

"In my view, there has been no Bank Slaski affair," says former Finance Minister Jerzy Osiatynski of the Democratic Union [UD]. "But what did happen for sure are irregularities in the functioning of the bank's brokerage house, and these must be cleared up. What also needs to be examined is whether there has not been a conspiracy among the bank's employees aimed at artificially raising the shares' prices to a level that would not be justified economically. But that should be discussed now by representatives of the commission that was in charge of the issue, inasmuch as I am a bit of a judge in my own case here."

There was no affair, there are just a great deal of experiences linked to the privatization process, and I agree with the view that the same kind of decision (regarding fixing the prices of the shares) would have to be made today, as well, said Jacek Piechota of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD], while Ryszard Ulicki, of the same Sejm deputies club, said that what happened in the case resulted from the "crawling on all fours" stage at which the financial system now operates; it is also a kind of "accident at work" and a lesson for the future.

In the view of the SLD's Adam Halber, if there was an affair at all, it only applied to allowing the shares into circulation. According to him, it is hard to say currently whether that is due to negligence, mindlessness, or something else, and that must be cleared up. Halber says that if all of the shares could get to the stock market at the same time, their prices would be set at a reasonable level. According to SLD Sejm Deputy Roman Nowicki, the case is a political game and a game of interests, not an affair. Someone is eager to be on the front pages of the newspapers. But that does not help the capital market. Nowicki also says that the issue should be examined, but it has to be done without emotion.

According to Zbigniew Bujak of the Union of Labor, there are two serious issues involved: First of all, the principle of equal access to the stock market for everyone who purchased shares, was not observed—and that is an affair. The other issue is participation by employees who had an opportunity to sell the shares and who bought more shares (at preferential prices) than they were entitled to.

Janusz Dobrosz, press spokesman of the Sejm Deputies Club of the Polish Peasant Party [PSL], expressed his support for a statement made by Bogdan Pek. Dobrosz said the statement cleared up the matter of fixing the share prices and the issue of the strategic investor. Their colleagues from the same Sejm deputies club can see no affair with regard to price fixing or the investor. If there was any affair at all, it pertained to completely different kinds of problems.

According to Sejm Deputy Jacek Cieciora (PSL), the fact that the shares were put into circulation at a time when only shares of the employees were on the stock market, was an affair. Cieciora says that was what raised the prices to such a high level. If there could just be 30 to 40

percent of the shares on the stock market, there would be no issue at all, and the shares' price would be 2 to 2.5 million zlotys, which "would be all right." Jerzy Pistelok (also of the PSL) thinks that hopes were stirred up among people for making very big money in a short amount of time, which caused the hurried efforts to acquire the shares. According to Pistelok, one can speak of irregularities that must be cleared up.

Only Grazyna Staniszewska of UD, who is deputy chairwoman of the Sejm Ownership Transformations Commission, said she does not really know whether there was an affair or not because a lot of doubts must still be cleared up and conclusions formulated after eight hours of debate by the commission. So, according to her, the Sejm debate on the issue is premature because all it can do is discuss suspicions.

There was no Bank Slaski affair. There is just the issue of Sejm Deputy Pek who, through his statements and ignorance of economics, put many stock market gamblers at risk of significant losses. This is how the problem was summed up by a few Sejm deputies for UD, who wanted to remain anonymous.

There was also unofficial talk in the Sejm to the effect that Bogdan Pek managed to become a widely known politician over a short period of time (at the expense of Bank Slaski), and that he is better in this than Jan Komornicki (also of the PSL), who failed to gain this kind of popularity while trying to track down, as the idea's author and a commission chief, "crimes of the Hanna Suchocka government."

PD-FSN on Fairness of Moldovan Elections

AU1003065494 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 9 Mar 94

[Text] The Democratic Party [PD-FSN] is following with concern recent developments in the political and socio-economic activity in the Republic of Moldova, a communique received from the PD-FSN Executive Bureau emphasizes. As an observer at the recent elections in the Republic of Moldova, the PD-FSN believes that the opposition parties have been systematically hampered in addressing the electorate, while the ruling party, with the support of the presidency, benefited from unlimited access to the television station.

The communique points out that the organization, a week after the election and during the absence of observers, of the sociological poll entitled Consulting the People, is viewed as something futile and the possible transformation of the poll into a referendum on the basis of a presidential decree is inacceptable.

Cioflina, Hungary's Deak View Cooperation

AU1003204994 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 10 Mar 94

[Text] As we already reported, a Hungarian military delegation has paid a visit to our country, during which Lieutenant General Janos Deak, commander of the Hungarian Army and chief of staff of the Armed Forces of the Hungarian Republic, and Lieutenant General Dumitru Cioflina, state secretary and chief of staff of the Romanian Armed Forces, signed the draft on bilateral cooperation activity in the military domain for 1994.

According to a statement made to our reporters by Lieutenant General Dumitru Cioflina, the aforementioned draft was signed in order to continue a number of such activities that were also included by the similar drafts for 1992 and 1993, such as the Open Skies action, professional exchanges of experience, and cooperation between military units in the joint border area. The chief of staff of the Romanian Armed Forces also said that the new elements included in the current draft refer to cooperation between the archive bodies of the two ministries, cooperation with respect to the security principles of [Danube] river shipping and ways to implement those principles, exchanges of experience in the education and training of military cadets, and in the two armies' relations with the civic society. Another element included in the draft refers to the regulation of the status of military cemeteries on the territory of the two countries.

According to a news item broadcast yesterday by the [Hungarian] Duna Budapest Television, Lieutenant General Janos Deak stated that on the basis of the Romanian-Hungarian military cooperation program 20 joint actions will be organized. The commander of the Hungarian Army emphasized the fact that the two countries' armies do not have, quote, a mutual enemy image, unquote, about each other.

Senate Rejects UDMR Amendment of Police Bill

AU0903132594 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 9 Mar 94

[Text] Today the Senate resumed its plenary session. At the opening of the session, upon a proposal made by Senator Constantin Ticu Dumitrescu, the senators marked their regret over the persons who fell in the struggle against Communism by standing silently for a minute. Following this, they resumed discussing the draft bill on the organization and functioning of the Romanian Police.

An amendment proposed by the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR] parliamentary group stirred a fierce dispute among the senators. Among other things, the amendment stipulates that, quote, in the territorial-administrative units in which the ethnic minority inhabitants represent the majority as compared to the total number of the population, the newly appointed or employed personnel of the police must be able to speak the language of that ethnic minority, respectively, must come, in a sufficient number, from among the persons belonging to that ethnic minority, unquote.

However, the amendment was then rejected, as merely 16 senators voted in its favor.

The debate continued after a short break. The most important article that was discussed by the end of the morning session referred to the sentencing to life imprisonment of persons who kill police officers in the exercise of their duty.

Our correspondent, Victor Spirache, also reports that, after discussions were suspended on that draft bill, a number of senators made statements in their own name on various issues.

Serb Tanks Shell French Battalion in Bihac

AU1003164294

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1400 GMT on 10 March carries a series of reports on the combat situation in the republic:

A dispatch from the 7th South Operative Group says: "After a peaceful morning, fierce enemy attacks have resumed on the defense lines in the operational zone of the 7th South Operative Group. After fierce artillery attacks, the chetniks have been attempting infantry breakthroughs in the Bandera-[word indistinct] region. The Doboj defenders are successfully resisting these attacks, which are still going on."

Hajrudin Fermic reports from the Maglaj front that "after last night's massacre in the old part of Maglaj, when five civilians were killed and 13 injured, the chetniks are today trying to repeat this by suddenly shelling the town and by sniper fire (?in the north). Tanks, Bofors guns, and mortars have been used to attack at various intervals from the western and southern side. We have learned in the emergency ward that one person was wounded by a sniper today. The chetniks are also continuing their rapid concentration of manpower and deployment of armored vehicles and artillery." However, he adds, "the fighters of the 201th Brigade and their affiliated units stand ready to resist the offensive."

Muhamed Mujic reports from Bihac that "the fierce Serbo-chetnik offensive continues today in the free part of the Bihac area. In addition to the defense lines of the 5th Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the Croatian Defense Council, the regions of Bihac and Cazin have been targeted by all kinds of artillery and tanks. The most destructive grenades have today been falling on Bihac, especially on its industrial zone and suburbs. The chetniks showed their insolence and truly desperate motives with a frontal tank assault on the base of the French battalion in the center of Bihac last night. At 2140 [2040 GMT], tanks from the notorious aggressor's stronghold in Grabez suddenly opened fire on the French Battalion's base, which is clearly marked and has been there for over a year. Several shells hit the building in which the French soldiers are accommodated and one grenade landed in [word indistinct] where the vehicles are parked. One truck was completely destroyed in the powerful explosion while several vehicles have been damaged. Luckily, according to unofficial reports, none of the French soldiers was injured." Mujic adds here that "many people in Bihac wonder why NATO aircraft were not called in to help."

Rose Refuses French Request for Air Strikes

AU1003210994 Paris AFP in English 2107 GMT 10 Mar 94

[Text] Sarajevo, March 10 (AFP)—Bosnian Serbs launched artillery fire at French UN forces in the western Moslem enclave of Bihac Thursday [10 March], a UN Protection Force spokesman said.

Major Rob Annink said the French troops responded and called for air support by NATO planes. UNPROFOR commander General Sir Michael Rose ordered an investigation but subsequently decided an air strike was not necessary.

Generals Brief U.S. Envoy on Army-HVO Accord

AU1003165894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 10 Mar 94

[Text] The Press Center of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army reports that Army General Rasim Delic and Brigadier-General Jovan Divjak held talks with General John Galvin, special military envoy of U.S. President Clinton, in Sarajevo today.

The discussion concerned further steps in the implementation of the agreement between the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the Croatian Defense Council [HVO], which will be taken in the coming days. During the talks, General Delic informed General Galvin of the possible principles of a military solution in the future Bosnia-Herzegovina federation, which separately outlines possible solutions for the transitional period.

At the end of today's talks General Galvin expressed optimism about the future course of the talks, absolutely acknowledging all the difficulties that are possible in the course of the realization of the agreement, especially in the transitional period.

The talks of the representatives of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the HVO about a military solution in the future Bosnia-Herzegovina federation are scheduled to commence tomorrow.

Herceg-Bosna Officials View Washington Agreement

AU1103095894 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 8 Mar 94 p 8

[Article by S. Lovrenovic on statements of Herceg-Bosna officials in Mostar; date not given: "Federation Simultaneous With Confederacy"]

[Text] Kresimir Zubak, president of the presidential council, said about the Washington agreement that "all the positions contained in the Washington documents were supported by the presidential council and the party leadership, and during the talks in Vienna we will try to include what was emphasized at the session in Mostar. My personal opinion is that the preliminary agreement on the future Bosnia-Herzegovina federation anticipates a much looser union than the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. However, details and the final assessment will only be available after the final proposal for the constitutional documents is put together in Vienna."

Ivan Bender, president of the chamber of representatives of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna, said that "the Croat people consider these documents and everything they imply to be one of the possible solutions in the many possible events we may encounter in the upcoming period. Our negotiating team must get expert reinforcement, especially now that all the details of the future union are the issue, to make all the solutions as close to our positions as possible. This agreement on federation can only be concluded if the confederacy between the Republic of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina is established simultaneously."

"After the document drafts are coordinated, the chamber of representatives will discuss them and give its opinion before the possible referendum. Our declaration, made at the session in Livno, is a valid document, and our negotiators bear that in mind. The preliminary agreement contains certain differences in relation to the documents passed at the chamber of representatives, but we will discuss everything after the work with the negotiations is completed," added Bender.

Pero Markovic, president of the Executive Committee of the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] for Bosnia-Herzegovina, believes that "not all the Croats of Bosnia-Herzegovina are in the same position with regard to where they come from. In that respect, they supported various solutions, which had to be put into a single solution. This is why we support our negotiating team and the expert groups in everything they have done so far. At this meeting, Croat unity was expressed, and there were no separate positions regarding the agreement and general politics. The HDZ has not changed its policies. The HDZ of Bosnia-Herzegovina has not given up on the ethnic principle that it incorporated in the Cutilheiro, Vance-Owen, Owen-Stoltenberg, and all other plans," said Markovic.

Explain Alliance Policy

AU1003214294 Paris AFP in English 2122 GMT 10 Mar 94

[Excerpts] Zagreb, March 10 (AFP)—Bosnian Croats said Thursday they would not accept a federation with Moslems in Bosnia-Herzegovina which was not linked to a confederation with Croatia proper. [passage omitted]

The statement was issued here after the presidential council of the republic of Hereg-Bosna met in Mostar, southern Bosnia [location as received].

The council has 11 members and is chaired by Kresimir Zubak, who has also headed the Bosnian Croat delegation in Vienna at talks on the proposed Moslem-Croat federation, brokered in Washington last week.

The council expressed its "full support" for its delegation in Vienna, but said that it had an "obligation to coordinate daily with the members of the presidential council who are not part of the delegation."

The report came after Zagreb's deputy foreign minister Ivo Sanader said that the talks in Vienna could be concluded Friday with leaders from both sides flying in to work out the final details.

Further discussions would be needed on the "demarcation of the Croat and Moslem cantons" in the future federation. [passage omitted]

Croatian President Franjo Tudjman said on Monday that the question of a confederation would be put to a referendum in the republic, but added that the issue could not be settled "so long as the question of Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina remains unresolved."

Federation Depends on Confederation

AU1003204194 Paris AFP in English 2039 GMT 10 Mar 94

[Text] Zagreb, March 10 (AFP)—Bosnian Croats said Thursday [10 March] they would not accept a federation with Moslems in Bosnia-Herzegovina which was not linked to a confederation with Croatia proper.

A statement said: "The presidential council has decided that setting up a federation is conditional on the establishment of a confederation between the Republic of Croatia and the federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"That means that a federation cannot be established without the setting up of a confederation."

Ethnic Councils Support Serb Assembly Proposal

AU1003201894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 10 Mar 94

[Text] Representatives of the Serbian Consultative Council, the Council of the Congress of Bosnian-Muslim Intellectuals, and the Croatian Coordinating Committee held a joint meeting today at which they examined the general agreement on the establishment of a federation and the general agreement on confederation with Croatia.

The joint stance of the Serbian Consultative Council, the Council of the Congress of the Bosnian-Muslim Intellectuals, and the Croatian Coordinating Committee, is that the sovereignty of Bosnia- Herzegovina as a state over its entire territory, peace, and human rights for all its citizens and peoples must be secured in the future documents, and this appears in a statement from today's meeting.

At the meeting they expressed their full support for the initiative to call an assembly of the citizens of Serbian nationality and Serbian ethnic origin, as was initiated by the Serbian Consultative Council, the statement reads.

Muslims Object to Croat Negotiator's Statements

AU1003203994 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 10 Mar 94

[Text] In view of the statement by Ivo Sanader, head of the Croatian delegation in the work of the transitional committee in Vienna, given on 9 March to the Austrian paper DER STANDARD, Kasim Trnka, head of the Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation in the committee for the preparation of the constitution and other documents for the federative republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, has issued the following statement for the public:

In his statement Mr. Sanader voiced numerous imprecisions and inaccuracies about the work of the transitional committee. In this way he, among other things, mentioned the existence of Croatian and Bosniak cantons and said that Mostar would be the capital of the community of the Croatian cantons.

The concept of the constitution of the proposed federation, whose bases have been established by the Washington agreement, does not envisage ethnic cantons. This constitution does not envisage any other form of state organization beside a federation, cantons, and communes. Therefore, Trnka emphasizes, there was never any talk of any capitals of any community of cantons. The arbitrary statement by Mr. Sanader that Mostar will be the capital of such a community is completely inaccurate and bears no relation whatsoever to the Vienna talks.

Such statements, as well as certain other steps, do not contribute toward the strengthening of mutual trust or the peace process as a whole.

The Croatian delegation and the U.S. mediators had all these imprecisions and inaccuracies pointed out to them, after which Mr. Sanader personally asked me to accept his apologies, reads the statement for the public by Kasim Trnka, head of the Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation in Vienna talks.

'Horrendous' Serb Missile Attack at Maglaj

AU1003200994 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 10 Mar 94

[Article by Hajrudin Fermic from Maglaj]

[Text] The [Serbian] aggressor this evening resumed his fierce attacks on Maglaj. The town has been under attack from surface-to-surface missiles of horrendous destructive power since 1800. Seven such missiles have been fired exclusively at residential and civilian buildings so far. The destruction of Maglaj in this fashion continues even as we are sending this dispatch, and it is 1850 hours now. A horrible evening in Maglaj!

UN Confirms Attacks

AU1003195694 Paris AFP in English 1935 GMT 10 Mar 94

[Excerpts] Zepce, Bosnia-Herzegovina, March 10 (AFP)—Serb forces blocked Thursday a UN aid convoy to the besieged Moslem enclave of Maglaj but UN troops said the impasse would be resolved soon. [passage omitted]

The commander of a 150-man Company C Light Dragoons reconnaissance unit said Serb forces had Wednesday asked convoy leaders to sign "a disclaimer saying they would take responsibility" for the aid trucks and personnel if they entered the Maglaj area. The disclaimer meant that Serb troops would not be responsible if something happened to the aid workers. The commander, who spoke to AFP on condition that he not be named, said the UNHCR officials refused to do this.

He confirmed reports of recent fighting in the area and said that he had himself heard from Zepce the sounds of up to 10 shells a minute falling on Maglaj which has been under a Serb siege since June. This matches reports from the mainly Moslem government's Radio Sarajevo which has spoken of days over the past two weeks when up to 4,000 shells fell on Maglaj.

Several UNHCR convoys have been kept from reaching Maglaj. The one blocked Thursday left Banja Luka in northwest Bosnia last week and has been stopped at Teslic for several days. [passage omitted]

Maglaj has not received humanitarian aid by land since last October. It depends on NATO airdrops of food but UNHCR officials have said the situation there is desperate. UNHCR director for Bosnia Larry Hollingworth was Thursday north of Zepce trying to arrange for the convoy, Croatian military commander for the region Niko Jozinovic told AFP. He did not say exactly what Hollingworth was doing. UN officials said requests had been made to Bosnian Serb military leader General Ratko Mladic in Pale, near Sarajevo in central Bosnia, to give the convoy authorization for Maglaj. Jozinovic said his HVO forces, which have positions between Zepce and Maglaj, were not involved in the fighting. He said, however, that Serb troops did pass through territory held by the HVO. "It is necessary to put pressure on the Serb side to end this war," Jozinovic said. He said the Moslem-Croat ceasefire in effect in central and southern Bosnia was holding for the Maglaj area as well. "In the next 20 days, this war will stop," Jozinovic said through an interpreter.

Elsewhere in northern Bosnia, mine-clearing operations by UNPROFOR continued at the Tuzla airbase to prepare it for international aid flights. The 2,400 metre (3,000 yard) runway was also being swept while Bosnian workers dismantled runway lighting.

Wednesday night was extremely calm, a spokesman for UNPROFOR's Nordic battalion said, following the firing of three mortar bombs on the town of Tuzla by

besieging Serb forces which killed a man and his young son. Another UNPROFOR officer said there had been sounds of shellfire and automatic weapons from the mainly-Moslem Bosnian Army lines some eight kilometres (five miles) away.

In Zagreb UNPROFOR spokesman Michael Williams said no date had yet been fixed for opening the airfield, closed since the beginning of the war nearly two years ago, under an agreement concluded with the Bosnian Serbs. "We still have no definite date," said Williams. "There are still questions about possible presence of liaison officers on the airport, from the Serbian side and the Bosnian side."

On Wednesday UNPROFOR's military spokesman, Lieutenant Colonel Jean Marcotte, said the UN would like to start aid flights within a week, though new equipment for the airport to operate them would have to be flown in first. "Requests for equipment assistance have already gone out. We are pleased with the response that we've met to that," Williams said.

Aid Convoys Ready To Enter

AU1103130794 Paris AFP in English 1240 GMT 10 Mar 94

[Text] Sarajevo, March 11 (AFP)—The UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) is readying two aid convoys for Bosnia's besieged Maglaj region which has been cut off for nine months by Serb forces, UNHCR spokesman Peter Kessler said Friday.

The Bosnian Serbs Thursday again prevented one 10-truck convoy carrying 92 tons of food from entering the northern town, forcing the UNHCR to divert it to Zenica, in central Bosnia.

Kessler said the UNHCR's head of operations in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Larry Hollingworth, who accompanied the convoy, was splitting it into two, one for Maglaj itself and one for the town of Tesanj, 15 kilometres (10 miles) west.

The two towns are in the Maglaj pocket, containing some 130,000 people who have been under siege by the Serbs since last June. They are only supplied by international air drops and latest reports speak of desperate conditions in the area.

Serbs Blocking Convoy

AU1003164494 Paris AFP in English 1623 GMT 10 Mar 94

[Text] Zepce, Bosnia-Herzegovina, March 10 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb forces blocked Thursday [10 March] a UN aid convoy to the besieged Moslem enclave of Maglaj but UN troops only a few kilometres (miles) away said the impasse would be resolved soon.

The British commander of a UN forward base in Zepce said the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) convoy was blocked in Teslic, only a few kilometres west of the Maglaj pocket where some 16,000 Moslems in Maglaj itself and over 100,000 people in the region are under a fierce Serb attack.

Maglaj, where UNHCR officials have described the situation as desperate, has received no humanitarian aid by road since last October, and is entirely dependent on NATO food airdrops. The commander of a 150-strong Light Dragoons reconnaissance unit said Serb forces had Wednesday asked convoy leaders to sign "a disclaimer saying they would take responsibility" for the aid trucks and personnel if they entered the Maglaj area. He said the UNHCR officials had refused to do this.

The convoy left Banja Luka in northwest Bosnia last week and has been blocked at Teslic for several days. Several UNHCR convoys have been kept from reaching Maglaj, in northern Bosnia, aid officials said. The commander spoke to AFP on condition that he not be named. The Dragoons, who arrived 10 days ago, were still filling in sandbags and working on positions at the abandoned factory where they are installed. The commander said the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) of which the British soldiers are a part had several options available to ensure that the convoy enters Maglaj "in a very, very short period of time." He said these included the Serbs agreeing to let it pass, Croat militia in the area helping it pass or for UNPROFOR to act on its own.

Serbs Mobilizing Underage Muslims, Croats

AU1003202494 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 10 Mar 94

[Article by Smajl Terzic]

[Excerpts] The fierce chetnik offensive activities in the operational zone of the 7th South Operative Group did not stop today. The aggressor has been pounding (?Pjeskovita Kosa) and (?Bejici) with artillery and launching infantry attacks and has refused to halt his efforts to take control of the Doboj-Teslic road; however, all has been in vain. [passage omitted]

The chetniks continue to mobilize Muslims and Croats, even those under age, in Doboj and Teslic and to send them to the front lines.

Herzeg-Bosna Council Conclusions on Confederation

LD1003211994 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 10 Mar 94

[Excerpts] According to a communique of the Croatian Defense Council, there have been no violations of the cease-fire between the Croatian Defense Council and the Muslim army. Zdenko Vranjes, reporting for Croatian Radio:

[Passage omitted] Examining the implementation of the Muslim-Croat political and military agreements, the Presidential Council of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosna reached the conclusion at its session today that the Croatian Defense Council had fully complied with the obligations from the cease-fire agreement and confirmed its permanent orientation to the cessation of hostilities. The Council said that the exchange of prisoners was a fundamental precondition for the continuation of the implementation of the agreement and the restoration of trust.

The Presidential Council reiterated that the Croat people in Bosnia-Herzegovina would enter the setting-up and the establishment of the Bosnia-Herzegovina federation, but only with the simultaneous setting-up and establishment of a confederation between the Republic of Croatia and the Bosnia-Herzegovina federation.

Lending its full support to a delegation of the Croat people at the Vienna negotiations led by [Council President] Kresimir Zubak, the Presidential Council at the same time stressed that the delegation was duty-bound to coordinate its views daily with other members of the Council who are not attending the negotiations. In negotiations, it is necessary to secure and emphasize the inherent sovereignty of the Croat grand counties with the precisely set out procedure for the realization of the right to self-determination, conclusions from the session say.

Krajina's Jarcevic Predicts 'All-Out War'

AU1003162394 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 10 Mar 94

[Interview with RSK Foreign Minister Slobodan Jarcevic by news announcer in the Belgrade Radio studio on 10 March—live]

[Text] [Announcer] Mr. Jarcevic, could you briefly give us your comments on the latest attacks by Croatia?

[Jarcevic] Croatia is not attacking the Serbian positions in the republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK], but has carried out aggression on the territory of the Korenica commune. Supported with artillery and tanks, Croatian soldiers have stormed that territory. Moreover, in northwestern Dalmatia, they are attacking the communes of Obrovac and Benkovac.

In the eastern part of the republic of Serbian Krajina, around Vinkovci, they are also attacking us with artillery and infantry weapons. This is only a prelude, and I am expecting all-out war between the Republic of Croatia and the republic of Serbian Krajina.

[Announcer] On what do you base your views?

[Jarcevic] General Tudjman was given support in all the international bodies, in the United Nations, the CSCE, and the European Union. Washington is now firmly supporting him in his calls for the reintegration of the republic of Serbian Krajina into the Republic of Croatia. He knows that he cannot accomplish this with the agreement of the Serbian people who live in the republic of Serbian Krajina or those Serbs whom he has expelled from the Republic of Croatia. He is only left with war and it is certain that in the secret connections with Western countries he has been given the green light for that.

[Announcer] Thank you.

Tudjman Invites Zhirinovskiy To Visit

AU1003214394 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 2100 GMT 10 Mar 94

[Text] A news conference concerning the recent arrival of the leader of the Russian Liberal Democratic Party Vladimir Zhirinovskiy at Brnik [Ljubljana] airport and the complications that arose in connection with this was held in the Park Hotel in Bled tonight. Teo Lipicer reports:

[Begin Lipicer report] (Alexey Vedenkin), representative for Europe of Zhirinovskiy and his Liberal Democratic Party, at the news conference said that Zhirinovskiy traveled to Slovenia at the invitation of a diplomat and businessman (?Nicholas Oman) and that our embassy in Moscow had assured him that there would be no problems with his second visit to Slovenia.

(Vedenkin) assessed that the rejection of Zhirinovskiy was a big provocation that could cause relations between Russia and Slovenia to deteriorate considerably. The Russian Liberal Party will tomorrow or by Monday at the latest demand from the Russian Parliament, in which it has 64 seats, or a little less than a third, to issue a protest note to Slovenia, demanding a recall of Saso Gerzina, representative of the Slovene Consulate in Moscow, deny in advance entry visas for Russia to [Defense] Minister Jansa, [Foreign] Minister Lojze Peterle, and Mrs. Valencic-Pelikan from the Slovene Foreign Ministry, and to reexamine economic relations with Slovenia.

(Alexey Vedenkin) among other things also said that Vladimir Zhirinovskiy received a written invitation by Croatian President Tudjman yesterday. The Russian politician is expected to visit Zagreb on 4 April. [end recording]

Federal

Greece's Papoulias Arrives in Belgrade for Talks

LD1103124194 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1212 GMT 11 Mar 94

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 11 Mar (TANJUG)—At noon today, Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias arrived in Belgrade, where he is to have talks with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic. He was welcomed at Belgrade aiport by Federal Deputy Prime Minister Zeljko Simic.

Milosevic and Papoulias are expected to exchange views on the problems of the peace process on former Yugoslavia, particularly on the crisis in former Bosnia-Herzegovina after the signing of the Washington plan for the creation of the Muslim-Croat federation and a confederation with the Republic of Croatia. [passage omitted]

Holds News Conference

LD1103140794 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1242 GMT 11 Mar 94

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Mar (TANJUG)—The European Union (EU) remains active in the peace process in the former Yugoslavia, Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias stressed upon his arrival in Belgrade today.

In his statement to reporters at Surcin airport, Papoulias said the Bosnian crisis would be the first problem to be discussed at an informal EU meeting on 26 and 27 March.

He did not specify whether he brought any proposals to Belgrade, but said: "I am here to make a contribution to the peace process in the capacity of the chairman of the European Council, but also as foreign minister of Greece, which is directly interested in the Balkan problem."

Asked what was happening with the EU proposal after the Washington agreement had been signed, Papoulias did not give a direct answer, but replied that the latest EU activities had been discussed at the latest session of the EU Council of Ministers.

"I would like to convince you that the EU will be actively present in the upcoming developments," he said. Asked whether the EU was upset about the United States having monopolized the issue, Papoulias said "we are not upset, but in any case, we want to remain present at the scene, together with powers such as the United States and Russia."

According to him, nobody "must forget the EU's contribution so far and the ideas of the EU's program of activities, which remain the most significant ideas at present," he stressed.

Asked about possible deployment of Turkish troops in Bosnia, Papoulias said that all Balkan countries were interested in the problem, since they had said in the past that no forces from any of the Balkan countries must be sent into former Yugoslavia.

Papoulias said if Turkey sends its units, Greece would also consider sending its forces.

Kontic To Request Extension of UN Mandate

LD1003161094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1424 GMT 10 Mar 94

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 10 Mar (TANJUG)—At its session today presided over by Yugoslav Prime Minister Radoje Kontic the federal government examined a report on spring sowing and adopted a decision on protected prices of basic agricultural products, the Federal Ministry of Information announced in a statement. [passage omitted]

The government also examined and endorsed a letter which the federal prime minister is to send to UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali regarding the extension of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] mandate in the protected zones on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. It has been concluded that the presence of the UN peace forces in the protected zones is an important factor for the creation of the necessary conditions for reaching a political solution to the problem.

The government was also informed about actions taken by the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs in connection with a decision of the German authorities to expel FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] citizens whose status in Germany has not been legalized. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been tasked with continuing and intensifying contacts with the relevant German authorities so that the full protection of the rights and interests of all FRY citizens in Germany may be secured, with particular insistence on the full application of the current international conventions and practice, the statement says. [passage omitted]

Milenko Perovic, hitherto the Montenegrin president's secretary general, has been appointed chairman of the Federal Council of Magistrates.

New Deputy Prime Minister Uros Klikovac has been appointed chairman of the Federal Commission for the Political and Legal System, the Federal Ministry of Information statement concludes.

'Growing Criticism' of Plan in Croatia Viewed

LD1003151594 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1437 GMT 10 Mar 94

[Text] Zagreb, March 10 (TANJUG)—The United States plan for the creation of a Moslem-Croat federation in Bosnia-Herzegovina and its subsequent confederation with the Republic of Croatia is meeting with growing criticism and concern in Zagreb.

Not only the opposition, but also newspapers close to the ruling Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ), whose leader

is Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, have been warning that the negative consequences of the Croat-Moslem "state marriage" could surface very soon.

The opposition in Croatia, which had strongly urged an agreement with the Moslems, now sets out that Zagreb has taken a rash political turn. It insists that there is no need for rushing into a confederation, above all because both Croatia and the future Moslem-Croat federation must first secure "integral internationally-recognized borders."

Commenting on the preliminary Moslem-Croat agreement signed in Washington last week under pressure from the United States, Croatian media say that everything has a "taste of punishment for both sides."

Several scores of thousands of Croatia's regular army troops have for over a year been aiding the Bosnian Croats in their battle against the Bosnian Moslems.

The weekly DANAS, close to the ruling HDZ, said in its latest issue that, under the Washington agreement, the central authorities in Sarajevo (which would be Moslem-dominated because Moslems are numerically stronger) would hold all vital departments, from the foreign affairs, national defence, economic policy, finance, to energy.

Croatian demographers set out that Croats would acount for 4.5 million, or roughly 60 percent, of the confederation's 7.5 million inhabitants, but that they would be faced with an "above-average birth rate of the Moslem population".

"The high birth rate, coupled with the settling of Moslems in Croatia, could very soon turn the Croats into a minority," demographers set out.

Moslems, as head of the Croatian state statistics bureau Jakov Gelo, himself, has said, "will spread not only on the territory of the federation, but also on that of the confederation, i.e. Croatia," and will have difficulty "fitting in with the Croats because of different religion, culture and customs."

Gelo said that the hitherto experiences had shown that, using the same criteria, "Croats and Serbs were more alike than Croats and Moslems".

Serbia

Plan Viewed as Opportunity for Serbs To Unite

LD1003215894 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1829 GMT 10 Mar 94

[Text] Belgrade, March 10 (TANJUG)—Leader of the Serbian Radical Party Dr Vojislav Seselj said on Thursday the Washington agreement on a Moslem-Croat federation had given the Serbs the most favourable opportunity to unify all their territories.

The Serbian Radical Party is the second-strongest opposition party in the Serbian Parliament.

"If Jamahiriya (Seselj's term for the Bosnian Moslem state) and the Bosnian-Croat Republic of Herceg-Bosna can subsequently enter a confederation with Croatia, who can prevent the Bosnian Serb Republic to join Yugoslavia," Seselj underscored at a press conference. According to him, Serb politicians should use this opportunity in the best possible way.

He added, however, that the Belgrade authorities had voiced their restraint on the issue and lacked courage to make a more resolved move in their foreign policy. He urged that the Bosnian Serb Republic and the Republic of Serb Krajina should merge, and consequently have one government, prime minister and parliament.

Asked about Germany's decision to expel nationals of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, mainly ethnic Albanians from Serbia's province of Kosovo/Metohija, Seselj said it was a way of putting pressure on Belgrade. He added that this problem could be solved at the border.

His solution for the problem was to deny entrance to Yugoslavia to all Albanians who had illegaly come to Kosovo/Metohija in 1948 and later, and who had not acquired Yugoslav citizenship. As for ethnic Albanians who had refused to serve their military term with the Yugoslav Army and had, therefore, escaped to Germany, they should immediately be arrested.

Kosovo

UN Resolutions Condemning Serb Violence Praised

AU1003214194 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 10 Mar 94

[Text] The 50th Session of the UN Human Rights Commission held in Geneva has approved two resolutions on Kosova, initiated by the United States and Pakistan. These resolutions condemn the brutality, acts, and violence of the Serbian regime against the Albanians of Kosova.

Welcoming the approval of these two resolutions, the government of the republic of Kosova has issued a public communique stressing that Belgrade has been shown to be responsible for violating the basic freedoms and rights of the Albanian people. Thus, the UN resolutions express the will of the civilized peoples in the world to object to every violation of human rights in Kosova and undertake actions in this regard.

The government of the republic of Kosova is of the opinion that the will expressed by its people is the only basis for a final solution. The communique asks the UN to increase its efforts to be present in Kosova to help prevent conflict and guarantee the return of democratic institutions to normality.